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[No. 1

KṚṢṆA DĒVA RĀYA'S CONQUEST OF
RAICHŪR

BY G. S. DIKSHIT, B.A. (HONS.)

SEWELL in his *Forgotten Empire* has taken Nuniz's account of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya's conquest of Rachol to refer to his conquest of Raichūr.¹ Rev. H. Heras has attempted to prove Nuniz's account to refer to the battle of Rachol near Goa.² The following considerations support Sewell's view.

The Name

In the Telugu works for example, in *Rāyavācakamu*³ which purports to be a contemporary chronicle, and in *Kṛṣṇarāya-vijayamu*⁴ Raichūr is referred to as Rāchūru. The Portuguese corruption of Rāchūru seems to be Rachol. Apart from this similarity in names, by the context, one can easily make out that by Rachol, Nuniz means Raichūr. We are told by Nuniz,

¹ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 137 ff.

² *JRAS.* 1931, p. 142 ff.

³ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 131.

that when Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya came to the throne, he came across a testament of Sāluva Narasimha, which stated that his successors should capture three fortresses, "one of them was called Racholl and another Medegulla".⁵ Here because Racholl is associated with Medegulla or Mudgal, it can only mean Raichūr. Students of Vijayanagara history are very well aware of the fact that these two forts, Raichūr and Mudgal, were the bone of contention between the rulers of the Deccan and of Vijayanagara.

The Geographical Position

Nuniz gives the topography of Rachol thus: "The city of Rachol lies between two great rivers, and in the midst of a great plain where there are no trees except very small ones, and there are great boulders there; from each river to the city is three leagues. One of these rivers is the northern boundary, and beyond it the country belongs to the Ydalleão, and the other is the boundary to the south which is the boundary of Narsynga."⁶ This description holds good of Raichūr in the Deccan and not of Rachol near Goa. For, though Rachol is situated between two rivers, they are not great rivers; and even if we assume that Nuniz referred to these rivers as being great, Rachol is not situated at a distance of three leagues from each river, as Raichūr very nearly is from the rivers, Kṛṣṇa and Tungabhadra. The rivers near Rachol in the Portuguese territory could not have been described by Nuniz as forming the boundaries between the Vijayanagara and Bijapur kingdoms. Whereas the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Tungabhadra, between which Raichūr is situated, formed the boundaries of the kingdoms of the Deccan and Vijayanagara for centuries. Further, Nuniz says, that Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya halted at a place called Mollambamdym, which was at a distance of a league from Rachol, on his way to Rachol.⁷ If Nuniz's Rachol is to be identified with Rachol near Goa, then there

⁵ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 316.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 331.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 329.

must be a town called Mollambamdym at a distance of a league from it. In fact no such town exists in the Portuguese territory. Whereas a few miles to the south of Raichūr there is a town called Malliabad. Sewell has correctly identified Nuniz's Mollambamdym with this Malliabad.⁸

Rev. H. Heras says, "The narrative of Paes records that the mountains round Vijayanagara reach the kingdom of the Daquem (Deccan), the territories belonging to the Ydalleão (Adil Khan Sultan of Bijapur) and the city of Rachol, that formerly belonged to the king of Narsynga. Paes here mentions three countries as the limit which the Vijayanagara mountains reach. There three countries run from east to west—the kingdom of the Deccan (*viz.* Golconda), the kingdom of Ydalleão (Bijapur) and the city of Rachol.... The city of Rachol is placed by Paes west of the kingdom of Bijapur in the present Goa territory." It is not correct to say that when Paes mentions first Deccan, then Bijapur and then Rachol, he mentions them in order from east to west and by Deccan Paes does not mean Golconda. He means by Deccan the Bahmani Kingdom which was existing even then, though nominally. He also knew that the various Shahi kingdoms owed allegiance to the Bahmani Kingdom. For he says,⁹ "This Kingdom (Vijayanagara)... marches to the north with the kingdom of the Dakhan, belonging to which are the lands which the Ydalleão¹⁰ has and Ozemelluco".¹¹ Hence in the following sentence "The serras (mountains) reach as far as the Kingdom of Daquem (Deccan) and border upon the territories belonging to the Ydalleão and upon a city called Rachol that formerly belonged to the king of Narsynga,"¹² what Paes means is that the Vijayanagara mountains reach the Deccan or the Bahmani Kingdom and in that Kingdom they border on the territories of Adil Shāh and a city called Rachol in the

⁸ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 329.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 239.

¹⁰ Adil Shah of Bijapur.

¹¹ Nizam-ul-Mulkh of Ahmadnagar.

¹² *Forgotten Empire*, p. 243.

neighbourhood of the Adilshāhi territories. Further referring to the same mountain ranges, he says, "these ranges are in a way the cause (of the two kingdoms) never uniting and always being at war".¹³ The Raichūr doab was the cause of the wars at first between the Bahmani and Vijayanagara Kingdoms, and later on between the Bijapur and Vijayanagara Kingdoms.

The Presence of the Portuguese Captain

In the conquest of Raichūr or Rachol, Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya was helped by a Portuguese captain by name Christovão de Figueiredo. Basing his account on Faria y Sousa, Rev. Heras says that Christovão de Figueiredo, who was to go to Vijayanagara to sell horses to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, probably heard that the king was conducting the siege of Rachol near Goa, and quite naturally went and met him there. He further argues that if Rachol is really Raichūr, Christovão de Figueiredo would not have gone to Raichūr first, for Raichūr is farther from Goa than Vijayanagara itself. But there is a great difficulty in accepting what Faria y Sousa has written. For he wrote a century later than the events he describes; while Nuniz, who is almost a contemporary writer says definitely that Christovão de Figueiredo came to meet Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya at Raichūr or Rachol from Vijayanagara. "During this return of the king (Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya to Raichūr), there came to meet him Christovão de Figueiredo who was at that time in the city of Bisnaga with horses...."¹⁴

The Date

The date of the conquest of Raichūr as given by Ferishta is 1521 and the date of the conquest of Rachol as given by Nuniz is 1522. Therefore Rev. Heras concludes that they must be regarded as two different actions. But the opinion of Sewell is different. He Says, "Taking the two narratives (of Ferishta and Nuniz) as a whole, there are too

¹³ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 243,

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 343,

many points of coincidence to leave any doubt in the mind that each chronicler is writing of the same event".¹⁵ The same authority has definitely fixed the date of the battle of Raichūr to be 1520 A.D.¹⁶

Consequences of the Capture of Rachol or Raichūr

All the Portuguese writers say that after the conquest of Rachol or Raichūr by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, Ruy de Mello, taking advantage of the distress caused to the Sultan of Bijapur by the surrender of Rachol or Raichūr siezed the mainlands of Goa. Rev. Heras says, "certainly the capture of Raichūr would not have enfeebled the power of the Adil Shāhi Sultan in the neighbourhood of Goa; but the conquest of the fort of Rachol, in the strategic corner of the Peninsula of Salsette, deprived the Sultan of his main stronghold beyond the river Zuarin." We must remember that the rise and fall of the Portuguese in India depended on the rise and fall of the Vijayanagara Empire. Just as the battle of Rākṣasa Tangadi or Talikōta was one of the main causes for the downfall of the Portuguese in India, in the same way the battle of Raichūr of 1520 A.D. increased the strength of the Portuguese power in India. The defeat of the Adil Shāh at Raichūr was so thorough that his power became weak all along his frontier. Hence it was easy for the Portuguese to capture the mainlands of Goa. Moreover they did this with the connivance of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya.¹⁷

Why has Nuniz described the conquest of Rachol at such great length, while allotting comparatively little space to Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya's Orissa campaigns? Why have the Indian accounts specially in Telugu literature and Vijayanagara inscriptions, which grow eloquent over the Orissa campaigns of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya, ignored his conquest of Rachol? Is there any satisfactory explanation for this difference in appreciation between the Indian sources and the Portuguese chronicles?

¹⁵ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 153.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 140.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 112-113.

Rev. Heras, who raises these questions answers them thus, "If Raçhol is identified with Raichūr, no explanation is possible, but if the Raçhol of Nuniz is identified with the fort of Raçhol in Salsette, the reason is quite evident. His account of the conquest of Raçhol is so full of detail on account of the special interest the Portuguese had in that fort—the stronghold of the recently acquired peninsula of Salsette. Though the conquest was not of great importance to the empire (Vijayanagara), it was very important for the development of the Portuguese possessions in India."

It is true that the Indian accounts do not pay the same attention to the Raichūr campaign as they do to the Orissa campaigns of Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya. But they have not altogether neglected the former. Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya himself, as has been recently pointed out by Mr. K. Iswara Dutt,¹⁸ has described the fall of Nairamanam (a place now known as Niranmanuru near Raichūr) in his work, *Āmuktamālyada*.¹⁹ Further an inscription²⁰ speaks of a person who pleased Kṛṣṇa Dāva Rāya by his war-like deeds at Trachchūr or Raichūr.

Nuniz's interest in the Raçhol or Raichūr campaign may have been due to the fact that some Portuguese took part in it. Sewell guesses that Nuniz himself may have been present at the siege, for his story bears all the marks of a personal narrative.²¹ It is also true that this campaign was very intimately connected with the fortunes of the Portuguese. But the extraordinary length of the narrative is not due to the fact that the campaign took place in, what later on became Portuguese territory, viz. Raçhol near Goa.

¹⁸ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IX, Part 4, p. 62.

¹⁹ Colophon of Canto VI.

²⁰ Para 59 of *Epigraphical Report for Madras*, 1906-07.

²¹ *Forgotten Empire*, p. 136 n.

LOVE, ROMANCE AND MARRIAGE IN DRAVIDIAN INDIA

BY S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL researches of modern times have resulted in important discoveries pertaining to the life led by the Dravidians of early times. But literature is the very mirror of a nation's soul; and the only literary evidence of this civilization is what has been yielded by the Tamil works of the so-called *Sangam Age* in South Indian history. These are substantially reminiscent of a culture that had a long period of antiquity behind it.

I. Regional Romance

The social life of the people of South India, like the other aspects of their culture, is met with primarily in five different grades, one for each of the natural regions into which the country was divided. The early Tamils were not slow to recognize that life in social groups was inseparably bound up with the geographical conditions in the regions of their occupation. The author of early Tamil grammar has even expressed grammatical rules and maxims in terms of the relations of the two sexes, finding vent in love and romance.

The best season for love-making was the spring, when the gentle south breeze wafted. The crooked courses that love ran through differed from region to region, to each one of which was attributed a particular stage in the processes of courting and marriage. The *Kurinji* region stood for love at first sight, and for the causes that engendered the love. "Like water falling on a fertile land the loving hearts unite with each other." The lover paid secret visits to his fiancée (*pedumpai*) at dusk and returned at midnight. *Mullai*, *Ney'al* and *Palai* saw the separation of lovers over different durations and their final union afterwards. In the *Mullai* country it was taken that there was only a short interval of separation, perhaps extending over a few days, as for example, when the

man went to tend his cattle or was out on a short hunting expedition. The girl had to wait patiently for the return of her love. *Neytal* meant a longer period, similar to what was caused when fishers went out to sea on a fishing voyage. The waiting here was so long as even to make the maiden "wail and feel that her beauty was fading, her shoulders less handsome and her feelings embittered." "She passed sleepless nights, and her face became pale." The parting of the lovers for a considerably long period was the theme of the poetry pertaining to the *Palai* country. The girl pines here for the return of her lad: the love-sickness being occasioned by his "departure to a distant desert where the deer mistakes a mirage for water." These stages in love-making were supposed to come under a comprehensive name *kalaru* (secret courting). In fact, this was the only indigenous prelude to marriage among the early Tamils; and *karpu* was a form superimposed on the old system by outside influences in South India.

Obviously, the first four stages were romantic, characterised by clandestine courting and even fleet marriages. In the *Marutam* stage there was settled family life, attended with the usual frolics and frivolities, family bickerings and quarrels, which now and then seemed to roughen the smooth course of the life lived by the couple.

II. Courting and Mating

In the period of courtship, the young lover strove to please the object of his love by rendering her voluntary services and sometimes even helping her out of a scrape. The plot of the *Kurinjī-Pattu* begins with an episode where an anxious lover seeks the hand of the girl he had set his heart on. He is seen to rescue her from the onslaught of an elephant and thus become worthy of her attention. The little deeds of chivalry done by the young man to attract the attention of his "flame" and her parents are beautifully described in some odes of the *Kali-Tokai*. "He looks on wistfully and fondly, while she is bathing; he visits the places she visits—her house, the bathing ghat, the well, etc.; offers her

garlands made of fragrant flowers ; even sets right her jewel that had fallen off its proper position ; makes toys and play-things for her merriment ; takes her to the sands of the sea-shore on a holiday ; and advances to apply the sandal paste to her bosom." "The gallant youth finds that his girl is about to get drowned in a stream, swims across the current and rescues her. For this act of his he is sure of her heart." The girl is seen sometimes to try the fidelity of her boy ; "she pretends to slip off the swing waiting to be saved by the young man who is after her." "The lover sick of his girl visits her house on a small pretext say, for a cup of water to quench his thirst, as he is wearied with his walks. The girl offers him water ; but he seizes her by the arm and embraces her, casting such a glance as would kill her."

In these processes of courting are met with girls through whom the lovers negotiate their match. The intention of both finds expression through them, and their union is finally effected through their intervention. They describe to their mistresses the noble qualities of head, hand and heart of the youths that had set their hearts on and arrange for their meeting, either in the village grove or by the banks of a running brook.

The youth mad with lust and dispirited by disappointment made with the sharp-edged stem of a palmyra leaf a horse run on wheels, and rode it holding the reins, adorned with small jingling bells. He wore garlands of the *crukku* and *arirai* flowers (*Calotropis gigantea* and *Cassia auriculata*) and ran along followed by bands of boys and girls in the street, who ridiculed him. Thus hair-brained, he fasted day and night, either to be accepted by the girl who might have been overcome meantime by a feeling of remorse, or reduce himself to death by starvation. This peculiar custom was known as *madal-crutal*.

III. Irregular Relationships

Besides the four forms of love-making and romance mentioned in connection with the natural regions, there were other clandestine and ill-matched associations of the two sexes. Instances are met with where the parents lament

miserably the long periods spent by their daughters in the company of youths who had eloped with them. Public opinion was so strong and could not be defied. A mother is seen to say, "she left us to a distant land with her lover, being enamoured of his sweet but false words." She feels her shame so bitterly as to exclaim, "may Death be Himself buried in a large urn; He did not take away my life ere I was constrained to go in search of my daughter." The parents' life, it was recognized, is not always a happy one. A verse in the *Kali-Tokai* teaches a lesson that it is not a blessing to have daughters, for they are kept in their custody only to be of utility and service to others, and a perennial source of anxiety to them. A wise ascetic gives the following words of consolation to the mother of a girl who had eloped with her lover: "Your daughter is to you what the sandal tree is to the hill; sandal paste gives pleasure to those that smear it on their bodies; though born and grown on the hill, it is of no use to it. Your daughter is to you what the pearls are to the sea; pearls add beauty to those that wear them; though produced in water, it is of no use to it. Your daughter is to you what the musical tunes and tones are to the lute; the music of the instrument gives delight to the audience; though produced from the lute, it is of no good to itself."

Some forms of these irregular relationships may be seen in *Kaikkilai*, where the love is partial, lop-sided and incomplete. Instances of these are found in a youth making overtures to an immature girl who cannot reciprocate; the man and woman have both an intense and anxious feeling of love, but the union of the two has to be postponed for some extraneous cause, say, the unwillingness of the parents or differences over the actual form it should take or when the hand of the girl desired could be won only by the lover's courage and strength being put to test in archery or in capturing a wild bull let loose by the parents of the girl.

On the other hand, the variety known as *Peruntinai* comprised unions of men and women of unequal age or intensity of love; when a youth sought a woman older than himself,

or seized a girl whom he had met by chance, or the man's feeling of love was violent and rude, but had absolutely no chance of being responded to. It was in the last case, when the girl was persistent and gave the basket that the youth became desperate, trespassed the usual bonds of decency and threatened the girl and her parents with his suicide.

IV. Marriage Ceremonies

The marriageable ages of boys and girls seem to have been fixed ordinarily at sixteen and twelve respectively. The observation made by Megasthenes that women of the Pāndya region bore children when they were six years of age cannot be relied upon even as evidence for the general prevalence of early marriages in Tamil India, especially in view of the fact that among the Tamils the more common form of marriage was the *Gandharva* variety, to use a Sanskrit term.

When after a tedious course of negotiations the marriage of the two contracting parties was publicly announced, a very elaborate ceremonial was gone through, and the rituals described in the Tamil texts as incidental to a formal marriage disclose the fact that social life in South India of the *Sangam* period had become saturated with Āryan forms in this important matter. *Tolkappiyam*, a work on Tamil grammar primarily, mentions under Tamil names the eight varieties of marriage met with in the Brahmanical law-codes as *Ara-nilai* (Brahma), *Porul-kol* (Arśa), *Taiva* (Daiva), *Oppy* (Prajāpatya), *Yaler-kuttam* (Gandharva), *Arum-porul-vinai-nilai* (Asūra), *Irakkatam* (Rakṣasa), and *Pey-nilai* (Paiśaca).

Now to give an actual description of the marriage ceremony. A *pandal* was put up which was beautifully decorated with foliage, flowers and festoons of tender cocoanut leaves. It was canopied by cotton cloth, or silk in the case of aristocratic families, and the floor was covered over with sand. It was an occasion of great rejoicing and festivity. Ladies dressed gaily and wearing jewels and garlands of jewels were everywhere in evidence. Pots of *palikai* with tender sprouts

and seedlings, flowers and frankincense, sandal paste and saffron powder were profusely in use in the ceremony. A huge quantity of rice was cooked with pulses, ghee and oils for feeding the guests. It was the auspicious morning of the day of the crescent moon when the stars shed no evil influence. The asterism Rōhini was in conjunction with the moon. The ceremony was proclaimed by the beat of a big drum. The bride was bathed by four women with water rendered holy, containing flowers, scents and rice-grains. She was adorned with garlands made of soft and fragrant flowers of the *Agatti* (*bauhinia racemosa*) and water lily mixed with blades of the *arukai* grass. The important ceremonies mentioned are : circumambulation, the walking together of the bride and bridegroom over seven steps and the tying of the *Tāli* (symbol of marriage). The garlanding of the bride by her husband was the first formal ceremony gone through. The bride was then given away by her parents with the blessing, "do not swerve from the path of chastity and virtue ; always render obedience and service to your loving husband ; become the good and true mistress of a big house." After receiving the blessings of all present, "the bride dressed herself in new clothes and retired in great trepidation to the bed-room." After these ceremonies were over, the wife and husband enjoyed the honey-moon.

An examination of the texts reveals that in South India of the *Sangam Age* the *Gandharva* variety was the most prevalent of the eight forms of marriage ; and that the marriage customs show little in common with what ethnologists consider to be peculiarly non-Āryan. The benediction at the end of the ceremonial, walking seven steps (Sanskrit *Saptapadi*) and circumambulation are evidently features met with in ancient Āryan marriage ritual.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIṢṆUKUNDINS

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 3, page 331)

The Feudatories of the Viṣṇukundins

THE facts that Mādhavavarman Janāśraya was acknowledged *Sāmrat*, for he had successfully performed eleven *Aścamēdhas*, that he set out to conquer the East, that in the reign of his grandson some hundreds of thousands of battles were fought against the East, and that Indrabhattāraka was successful in these, prove that there should have existed several feudatories to the Viṣṇukundins. Of some such feudatory chiefs we perhaps come across in the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates⁷² of Pṛthivimahārāja. These plates of Pṛthivimahārāja contain some interesting information. The grandfather and father of Pṛthivimahārāja are named Raṇadurjaya and Vikramēndra.⁷³ The recent editor of the plates has thrown out the following probable suggestion while commenting on the name of Vikramēndra. The name of Vikramēndra, the father of Pṛthivimahārāja, may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Viṣṇukundins among whom this name is found more than once. It is quite possible that Pṛthivimahārāja's father Vikramēndra was subordinate to Vikramēndravarmaṇ who was one among the two that ruled after Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I, i.e. his son or his great grandson.⁷⁴ This conjecture seems to receive strength from the fact that Piṣṭapura, which was presumably his capital, was situated within the Viṣṇukundin dominions. The Tāṇḍivāḍa plates are dated in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Pṛthivimahārāja. The definite

⁷² C. P. No. 6 of 1917 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 88 ff.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 99.

⁷⁴ In our view he was the son of Mādhavavarman I, for it will be seen in the sequel that after forty-six years of rule of Pṛthivimahārāja Pulakēśin II conquered him.

information of the Timmapuram plates that Kubja Viṣṇu-
 vardhana was in possession of Piṣṭapura and the mention that
 it was his secondary capital clearly proves that Piṣṭapura
 which had presumably been the capital of Pṛthivimahārāja,
 passed into the hands of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. Whether this
 took place as a result of conquest or otherwise, we are not
 certain and it is more probable that the former was the case,
 for Pṛthivimahārāja had reigned for a sufficiently long period
 of over forty-six years. The territory which comprised within
 it the capital Piṣṭapura should have been acquired simultane-
 ously with the dominions of the Viṣṇukunḍins which had been
 made part of the Cāḷukyan kingdom by Pulakēśin II. This
 event according to us cannot be placed beyond A.D. 612-15.⁷⁵
 The time of Pṛthivimahārāja as determined by an examination
 of the name of Raṇadurjaya arrived at by the editor of the
 plates is certainly beyond doubt and it is well in accordance
 with our chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings also. Pṛthivi-
 mahārāja should have begun to rule in the latter half of the
 sixth century,⁷⁶ and his rule should have come to an end
 after a reign of forty-six years in the beginning of the seventh
 century A.D.⁷⁷

A Note on Janāśraya-Chhandōrichiti and Bhāravi's Age

We owe much to the discovery made by Mr. M. Rama-
 krishna Kavi of the work on Sanskrit Prosody called *Janāśraya-
 Chhandōrichiti* some years ago and its importance to the
 historian as well as to the Sanskrit scholar cannot be adequately
 acknowledged. While editing the same in the *Tirumalai Sri
 Venkateswara Journal* the learned editor has taken great pains
 to insert an excellent introduction to the paper. We learn
 from it that "so far as known generally, there are three schools
 of Prosody relating to the secular literature. The first is of

⁷⁵ We agree in the main with the learned editor of the Tāṇḍivāḍa
 plates and we differ from him in the matter of the Viṣṇukunḍin
 genealogy and chronology. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 95 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 96.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 96.

Bharata, the second is of Piṅgala and the third of Janāśrayī-kāra. This work was written under the patronage of king Janāśraya, and it represents the third school. The work is called *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* and "the author was probably Gaṇasvāmin who appended a *bhāṣya* or scholium to it".

At the outset two questions stand prominent and they are: (1) Who was king Janāśraya under whose patronage the work was composed and (2) when was it composed? The first verse of the work is in praise of a king called Janāśraya who is stated to have performed a number of *yāgas* (sacrifices) and made extensive conquests. The able editor of the discovered work has shrewdly remarked that the verse in it commencing with the words "*ycna prāmśum*, etc." compares king Janāśraya with the God Kumāra. In this verse the epithet *taruṇa-ravi-saḍṛśa-vadanaḥ mayūra-dhvaṇaḥ* is applied to Janāśraya and Kumāra and the enemy overcome by them is indicated by "*śaśi-kirāṇa-kumuda-saḍṛśam Krauñcasya-āgram-śaktyābhinnam*". We learn from here that Kumuda, i.e. the king of the south-western region had been shattered by the power of Janāśraya. A number of verses have been quoted from various dramas and poems and they seem to have been from "Bharata, Vararuci, Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Aśva-ghōṣa, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Bhāravi, Vikāṭanītamba, and Kumāradāsa and others."

There are only two kings so far known to history who bore the title Janāśraya. They were Mahārāja Mādhava-varman Janāśraya the great Viṣṇukūṇḍin king, and Avani Janāśraya Pulakēśin of A.D. 739 and who belonged to the third Guzerat Branch of the Western Cālukyas. The question therefore reduces itself to which of these two Janāśrayas was the patron of the author of the work *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*. Avani Janāśraya Pulakēśin could not have been that king, for his date A.D. 739 is certainly very late. Therefore the only king who should have been the author's patron was the Viṣṇukūṇḍin monarch. This identification gains further support in the narration of the king's achievements, fortunately found in *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* though it is a work on prosody.

Here the king is said to have performed a number of *yāgas* (sacrifices), and made extensive conquests. From a consideration of the five sets of copper plates that belong to the time of the Viṣṇukunḍins, we learn that Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I had performed *Hiraṇyagarbhas*, eleven *Āśvamēdha* sacrifices, one thousand *Agniṣṭōmas* and other sacrifices. Again we know that he must have made extensive conquests which enabled him to perform as many as eleven *Āśvamēdhas*. It was in his days that the kingdom of the Viṣṇukunḍins came to be vast in extent. Further the verse in the work, which compares him with God Kumāra makes it plain that he shattered Kumuda, i.e. the king of the south-western region. In the days of his grandson Indrabhaṭṭāraka there was a battle in which the king of that region made a dash against Indrabhaṭṭāraka. But finally it was the Viṣṇukunḍin king that was victorious. All these seem to indicate that already in Janāśraya's time the king of the south-western region was a source of trouble and that he was the cause for bringing about the confederacy of kings (as is learnt from the Gōdāvarī plates of Prthvīmūlarāja) to aid him against his enemy the Viṣṇukunḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka. From the foregoing it will now be clear that the work was written under the patronage of Janāśraya Mādhavavarman, the Viṣṇukunḍin king. To the second question we shall presently engage our attention.

If the work *Janāśraya-Chhandōrichiti* is named presumably after Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I, the great king of the Viṣṇukunḍins who issued his Pulombūru grant, it makes clear that at least the work must have been begun, if not completely written, in the reign of Janāśraya whose period was circa A.D. 517-65. If this was so, there seem to rise certain discrepancies, which though apparent are capable of solution. The work quotes from among others, a verse from Bhāravi the celebrated writer, under *Udgatāprakaraṇa*. Bhāravi's only known work *Kīrātārjunīya* was very famous and was even quoted by his contemporaries, as is clearly borne out by the fact that Durvinita, the Western Gaṅga king whose protegee he was for some time, translated the fifteenth *sarga* or

fifteen⁷⁸ *sargas* in Bhāravi's work. The author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* had also quoted from the same work.⁷⁹ The age of Bhāravi is an uncertain question. But some arguments can be advanced and they are recounted here. The first and only inscriptional mention of Bhāravi is in the Aihole inscription⁸⁰ of A.D. 634 where Ravikīrti compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. The date of Kālidāsa is certainly not later than his Gupta contemporaries and hence about A.D. 375-455.⁸¹ That Bhāravi flourished after Kālidāsa and that his period was the sixth century A.D. are facts admitted by the majority of scholars. Coming to more definite limits we consider the points that are known about him. Bhāravi was the ancestor of Daṇḍin, who wrote the *Avantisundarikathā*. While stating his ancestral history, Daṇḍin informs us that Bhāravi introduced a certain Dāmōdara⁸² into the presence of Viṣṇuvardhana

⁷⁸ The passage which gives out this is capable of being translated in both ways.

⁷⁹ There is good reason for quoting Bhāravi. Bhāravi's work *Kirātārjunīya* is a Sanskrit poem, profuse with alliterations and other forms of verbal ornament and *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti* is a work on prosody. Therefore it is but appropriate that Bhāravi is quoted by the author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*.

⁸⁰ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 3.

⁸¹ This conclusion also receives support from the mention of the name Kālidāsa in the newly discovered Pattan plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II whose period was circa A.D. 415-42. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 83 f. Rāmadāsa, in his commentary on *Sēthubandha*, states that Kālidāsa wrote the work on behalf of Pravarasēna, at the order of Vikramāditya (Kāvya-māli Ed. p. 1). "Kālidāsa might have been sent to the Vākāṭaka court and as a later tradition attributes the work *Sēthubandha* to Kālidāsa, we may suppose that he wrote it for Pravarasēna, when he was in the Vākāṭaka court as an ambassador." *IHQ.* Vol. IX, p. 200. Dr. F. G. Peterson has come to the conclusion that Kālidāsa was "born in the Vidarbha land about A.D. 370, and wrote his three plays and the *Kumārasāmbhava* at the court of Chandra Gupta II in the period, roughly speaking 395-410, and the *Mēghadūta* and the *Raghu Vamśa* at the court of Bhōjakaṭaka in the year 410-30," *JRAS.* 1926, p. 726.

⁸² The correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kathā* can be seen in *IHQ.* Vol. III, p. 169. All the same many think that Bhāravi was himself called Dāmōdara. Even if it were so our position is not much affected.

and this Viṣṇuvardhana is identified by many scholars with the first king of the Eastern Cālukyas. In Daṇḍin's work he is stated to have been *rāja-sūnō* and not even *yuvārāja*. If the identification of the prince with Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana is correct, it is clear that his brother Pulakēśin II had not yet ascended the Cālukya throne, *i.e.* in A.D. 609–10, for in that case he should have certainly been called *yuvārāja*.⁸³ This shows that Rājasūnō Viṣṇuvardhana was very young. The poet did not stay long in Viṣṇuvardhana's court but repaired to Durvinīta's court. The last date of that king cannot go beyond A.D. 580.⁸⁴ During his stay in the Gaṅga king's court, Bhāravi was invited by the Pallava king who sent many *Śrīmukhas* (according to the *Avantisundarikathā* of Daṇḍin). Bhāravi reaching the Pallava court settled in Kāñci. From these it is clear that the celebrated poet should have lived in the times of the three kings, Śimhaviṣṇu, Durvinīta and Viṣṇuvardhana. The last year of Śimhaviṣṇu is certainly not beyond the sixth century (approximately A.D. 585). He ruled in about A.D. 555–85. This establishes the fact that Bhāravi lived in about A.D. 540–600 and that his work *Kirātārjunīya* should have become famous a few years after it was completed. Thus it becomes possible that verses from Bhāravi's work which was probably composed in about A.D. 555–65, was quoted by the author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōvichiti*.

We have seen that it is on account of the ancestral history which Daṇḍin gives in his work that we have been so far able

⁸³ The title was always used to denote a person, who "having been selected by the reigning king as his successor, was admitted meanwhile to a share in the administration probably with a view to really securing the succession".

⁸⁴ The period of Durvinīta was *circa* A.D. 540–80 (see my note on page 262 of *QJMS*. Vol. XXIX). Therefore it is just possible that Bhāravi had introduced Dāmōdara into the presence of Viṣṇuvardhana in the first years of the last quarter of the sixth century, and shortly afterwards repaired to Durvinīta's court where also he did not stay long. By the end of A.D. 580 he must have reached the Pallava capital.

to arrive at an approximate period for Bhāravi, his ancestor. In the same work the same writer tells us while mentioning his ancestor Bhāravi, that Bhāravi had three sons of whom Manōratha was the *second*, that this Manōratha had four sons of whom one of the younger sons was Viradatta whose wife was Gaurī. To Viradatta and Gaurī was born Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin lost both his parents while young. A friend of Daṇḍin was a certain Mātridatta, whose native place was the Kēraḷa country and who had been residing in the court of a Pallava king. The age of Daṇḍin is known to be the latter half of the seventh century, and Daṇḍin was Bhāravi's descendant. Before Daṇḍin and after Bhāravi two generations, *i.e.* about sixty years should have passed. Hence the last years of Bhāravi, the ancestor of Daṇḍin, should have fallen towards the end of the sixth century A.D. which is the same as the result that we obtained above. Thus Bhāravi was a celebrated author in the beginning of the latter half of the sixth century. Bhāravi's work was probably composed in about A.D. 555-60 and as the author of *Janāśraya-Chhandōrichiti* quotes from Bhāravi the last mentioned work should have been written in about A.D. 560-65.

From what has been said above it would be clear that *Janāśraya-Chhandōrichiti* was a work written in about A.D. 560-65, and under the patronage of Janāśraya Mādhavarman, the great Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. Incidentally the age of Bhāravi is also clear to have been the latter half of the sixth century.

SECTION IV

Viṣṇukuṇḍin Polity

Under this section we do not intend to go in detail into all the phases of their administration and rule; but it is necessary that all the salient features are studied and an altogether tolerable idea of their polity made out. We need hardly repeat, that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were practically the successors of the great Vākātakas, in Trikūṭa, Malaya and the Eastern Territories. They used the Sanskrit language as did the

Imperial Vākātakas ; the Vākātakas were Śaivites and introduced Śaivism into their dominions and the Viṣṇukunḍin kings were, each one of them a devout worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of Śrī Parvata Mahēśvara (Śiva), i.e. an ardent Śaivite. As the Vākātakas unified their position in the northern India, so also the Viṣṇukunḍins unified their position in the East and the West. Thus it is that they were akin to the Vākātakas and as we have noted already they rose when that great family was in a sunken state, but they remained still subordinate to the Imperial Vākātakas. They grew stronger by inter-marriage between the great dynasties. The kings of this dynasty were also like the Vākātakas rulers, Brahmin aristocrats, military by profession.⁸⁵ Very soon they rose to power and the dynasty which had the ill-fate to grow into a sunken state twice, did not live long, even after it had been revived and uplifted by Prthviṣēṇa II. This was so because we see that with Hariṣēṇa, who was for all practical purposes the successor of Prthviṣēṇa II, the glorious name and fame of the dynasty ended. He left no successors and the only thing that we could relate with some amount of exactness is that most probably it was his daughter who was given in marriage to Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, the greatest king of the Viṣṇukunḍins, a king who had performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and one thousand other sacrifices and such others as are significant of his imperial position (*sāmrat*) and rule. It was by this act that the dynasty of the Vākātakas was not allowed to end itself in oblivion, after the reign of Hariṣēṇa. The Viṣṇukunḍins were thus the successors of the Vākātakas or to put it more precisely they were the Vākātakas of their period. The other achievements of Mādhavavarman also point to the same conclusion. We have the full effect of the northern (Vākātaka) imperial idea in the reign of Mādhavavarman I, who was one of the most noted Brahmanical kings of the period. Thus it is that the rule of the Viṣṇukunḍins was one of high imperial watermark and surely the administration would not

⁸⁵ Compare Mādhavavarman I called Paramabrāhmaṇya, etc.

have lacked any of the salient features of such a rule. In the days of its height of fame and glory the Viṣṇukunḍin dominions constituted the Trikūṭa, Malaya Trivaranagara (Kōśāla), portions of Vizagapatam, Gōdāvarī, Guntūr and the Kṛṣṇa Districts. Of the administration of the Viṣṇukunḍins, in particular, the following features may be noted. The Pulōmbūru plates of Mahārāja Janāśraya give him the adjunct *avasita-vividha-divya* in l. 8 found in the second plate, and this can be said to indicate the prevalence of the system of trial by ordeal in the kingdom under the sway of the Viṣṇukunḍins, because *vividha-divya* means various forms of ordeal,⁸⁶ and this feature it should be remarked is also in conformity with the strict orthodox Brahmanical rule which followed the standards laid down by the great law-givers of India.

The kings of the dynasty gave grants either from their victorious camps or places of residence (*rāsaka*) and particularly in the instance of the Pulōmbūru plates of Mādhavavarma the grant was made after crossing the river Gōdāvarī, when the king set out to conquer the East (*prāg-dik*). All the usual features of the grants are seen, as for instance the king declaring to the officials and Mahārathas of the particular districts, that the particular lands in the particular villages were granted to the persons mentioned, free of all taxes and that every body should respect and guard the grant. The charters contain at their end the usual imprecatory verses, and it is also added that Hastikōśa and Virakōśa will protect the grant. That Hastikōśa and Virakōśa were offices and that they were not personal names as some writers believe will be seen from the sequel. The Hastikōśa and Virakōśa are mentioned in the Pulōmbūru plates of Mādhavavarman I, the Pulōmbūru plates of Jayasimha I and in the Gōdāvarī plates of Rāja Pṛthvīmūla. They figure as the executors in these grants and their duty was also to protect them. The remarks

⁸⁶ This point was first brought to the notice of scholars by D. C. Sircar in *JAHRS*. Vol. VII, Pt. IV, p. 195.

of Dr. Fleet,⁸⁷ while editing the Gōdāvarī plates of Rāja Prthvīmūla are worth quoting. These officials, he says, "evidently kept the purses and made disbursements on account of respectively the establishments of elephants and horses who were to be rewarded for deeds of valour". "The epithet *Mahāmātra Yōdha* applied to Hastikōśa-Vīrakōśa in the Pulōmbūru grant of Mādhavavarman I. seems to show that they were *Mahāmātra* of the Military department. It may also be that the epithet *Mahāmātra* goes with Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa. The word *Mahāmātra* according to *Medini* means *Haṣṭhipākādhīpa* (the head of elephant-drivers or riders, cf. Vulgo, *Mahut*). The word *Yōdha* generally means a soldier. Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa have been taken to be 'Officers in command of the elephant force and infantry' in *A.R. on S.I.Ep.* for 1914, page 85." Thus we see that they were only officials for elephant forces and of infantry who had usually been entrusted with responsible duties of executing grants and protecting or guarding them. It is worth remembering that the word *Haṣṭhiyādhyakṣa* meaning Superintendent of elephant forces, occurs in inscriptions. It would not be wrong to suppose that Hastikōśa and Haṣṭhiyādhyakṣa meant almost the same and that the execution and protection of grants were entrusted to them. They were offices. The word Hastikōśa also occurs in the Tamil literature. *Peruṅṅadai*, a Tamil version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, contains a very useful and interesting reference to Hasthikōśa. In the relevant passage,⁸⁸ Hasthikōśa is mentioned as one among the bodies that always followed the Kings or Chiefs of repute. Among such others may be mentioned the *Aimperuṅkuḷu* and the *Eṇpērāyam*, etc. of the Tamil literature. Hasthikōśa here means that it was a body of persons who kept guard of elephant forces, who were capable of rearing and guarding elephants. From the inscriptional references cited above, it will be evident that they

⁸⁷ *JBBRAS*. Vol. XVI, p. 144, ff.

⁸⁸ *Peruṅṅadai*, Swaminathayyar's edn. Canto IV, Sec. IX, line 5, p. 792.

were military officers or heads of elephant forces. In our records they figure as highly responsible officers taking care of royal grants. The form of the few available grants has much to tell us with regard to the administration of the country by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Their system of polity did not vary from the usual ancient Hindu system of administration. The country was divided into *Rāṣṭras* or *Viṣayas*, e.g. Guḍḍavāḍi-Viṣaya, Plaki-Viṣaya or Rāṣṭra, Kammarāṣṭra, etc. These Viṣayas or Rāṣṭras were sub-divided into *grāmas* or villages and *agrahāras*, as for instance, Peruvādaka or Pervātaka in Plaki-Rāṣṭra, Viḷēmbala in Guḍḍāḍi-Viṣaya, Kunrūr in Kammarāṣṭra, the village of Rēgoṇḍa, etc. The villages had their own *Grāmakūṭas* or assemblies which, we have good reasons to believe, were regularly constituted bodies having set rules of conduct to follow. Grants of villages were made by kings either from victorious camps or places of residence (*rāsaka*) to Brahmins who were well versed or masters of the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas and the like. They were granted for purposes like the "increase of the rewards of the king's own good deeds etc." The king while he made the grant, commanded all the ryots assembled in the village to obey his orders and exhorted all the future kings to respect his gift and leave the grant uninterfered. As usual the charter was written at the command or instructions of the King and the executors and protectors of these grants were Hasthikōṣa and Virakōṣa. The *Mahattaras* of the Viṣayas are referred to by the words *Viṣayē-Mahattarānadhikārapuruṣāmsca*. These Mahattaras were the gentlemen who constituted the village assemblies of the day and they are perhaps identical with the Perumakkaḷ of the Tamil inscriptions. Their executives (*Adhikārapuruṣas*) were present when the grant was made. The Sañjam plates of Buddhavarṣa of about the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. mentions *Kulamahattarādhikāraṇaḥ*,⁸⁹ just after the *Grāmakūṭa*, meaning the officers of the heads or elders of the families. Thus then the *Mahattaras* or their executives

⁸⁹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 150.

Adhikārīṇaḥ or *Adhikārapuruṣas* were really heads of families. The term *Mahattarānadhikārapuruṣāmsca* doubtless indicates that it was the executive that shouldered the responsibilities of the village and its assembly. We do not know the rules by which they were chosen and the other details of conduct.

The lands were measured in terms of *Nivarthanas*⁹⁰ and *Nivarthana* was also a unit of land measure in the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas.⁹¹

(Concluded)

⁹⁰ *JAHRS*. Vol. VI, Pt. I, pp. 17, ff.

⁹¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, Pt. III, pp. 82.

Vol. XXX, p. 381, l. 3, read *an* after *us*.

HAIDAR ALI

Character, Personality, Public and Private Life

BY D. S. ACHUTA RAO, M.A.

HAIDAR was not all 'blood and iron' as his stormy career would suggest to our mind. He was a father to his people, stern to the unruly and the wicked but all kindness and love to the deserving, the weak and the destitute. He raised a battalion of orphans, provided for their maintenance and arranged for their education. As Schwartz says "his care for orphans gave me great pleasure...he allows no orphan to be neglected in his dominions. He feeds and clothes them and gives them little wooden firelocks with which they exercise".¹

In dealing with his subjects as well as officials Haidar was like a lion of Justice. This was indeed a notable feature of his character. Throughout the twenty-one years of his rule we do not find a single deviation from this principle. He always tried to ascertain the exact truth about the oppressed and the suitors for justice. He never favoured the oppressors whether they were 'masters or servants, foes or friends, sons or relatives'.² He neither showed delay nor lenity in the punishment of offenders or wrong doers. De La Tour depicts an interesting anecdote³ which typifies this aspect of Haidar's character. In 1767 when Haidar was going out with his usual retinue at Coimbatore, an old woman prostrated before him one evening and cried out, justice! "Haidar", says De La Tour, "immediately caused his carriage to be stopped and demanded her request". She answered "My lord, I had but one daughter and Aggi Muhammad⁴ has ravished her from me".

¹ *Letter of Rev. Schwartz*; Pearson, *Life of Schwartz*, 1, 388-40; Wilks, ii, App. 577.

² *Letter of Rev. Schwartz, op. cit.*

³ *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 29-30.

⁴ This Aggi Muhammad according to *M.M.D.L.T.* was then sixty years of age and had been chief usher to Haidar for twenty-five years and had been often rewarded for his services. *M.M.D.L.T. op. cit.*

Haidar replied "Aggi Muhammad has gone from hence for more than a month. How does it happen that you wasted all this time without complaining?" "My lord, I had made many requests to Haidar Shah and received no answer." This Haidar Shah was the chief usher who generally preceded Haidar bearing 'a large collar of gold' as a mark of dignity. Haidar then gave orders to his usher to return instantly to the capital and also commanded the old woman to proceed thither. All the members present at the court were in great apprehension for the officer who was so much beloved and no one was daring enough to intercede for him. Tippu implored one of the European generals to procure his pardon but Haidar refused to forgive him and said "there is no greater crime than that of interrupting the communication between the sovereign and the subjects. It is the duty of the powerful to see that the weak have justice. The sovereign is the only protector God has given them and he who suffers oppression to pass unpunished among the subjects is deservedly deprived of their affection and confidence".⁵ Haidar then gave orders to punish his usher with two hundred stripes on the parade and at once commanded an Abyssinian horse-guard to go with the woman to the country where 'Aggi Muhammad' was and to deliver the girl to her mother and to return with the head of 'Aggi Muhammad'. Accordingly the girl was rescued and the head of Aggi Muhammad was brought to Haidar. Such ruthlessness in punishing the evil-doers was one of the causes of his success in administration and the above account reveals the popular confidence in the great ruler's equity and justice.

Haidar was amiable, courteous and generous and perhaps cruel from necessity but never from choice. Regarding his treatment of European prisoners many calumnies have been made.⁶ But John Lindsay, one of the prisoners taken along with Baillie has drawn a picture of Haidar in his

⁵ *M.M.D.L.T. op. cit.*

⁶ See *Memoirs*, i, 123, 166-67.

‘Journal’⁷ which shows that he was not altogether an inhuman or a barbarous tyrant but one who was pre-eminently human. “With regards to us” observes Lindsay “he (Haidar) has given positive orders that we should be treated with every mark of respect and kindness”.⁸ Haidar on seeing their dreadful suffering from the wounds received at the battle allowed his French surgeons “to dress their wounds and to render them every assistance”.⁹ When he was informed of the severity with which they were treated by his men “he seems to have been very sorry for it”¹⁰ and allowed a thousand rupees for their expenses at the same time desiring them “to eat, drink, sleep and be happy”.¹¹ Such experiences recorded unmistakably prove that Haidar was not incapable of the tender feelings of humanity. His generosity was prodigal and his disposition kindly. Sad tales might indeed be told of many of his English captives who were half-starved and were forcibly circumcised but it must be kept in mind that the English soldier, as Bowring remarks, was regarded by the natives as a ferocious beast who could only be subdued by brute force.¹²

Contemporary writers have fortunately left us fairly comprehensive and descriptive accounts of his personality and his private and public life. The description given by De La Tour of Haidar’s personal appearance is as vivid as any. “He is five feet six inches high, active and capable of bearing great fatigue on foot as well as on horseback. His complexion is very brown as is that of all Indians who expose themselves

⁷ *Life of the Lindsays*, iii, 318.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* 368.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 271-72.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 271-72.

¹² Bowring, 109: Michaud, a French historian writing about Haidar in the early years of the nineteenth century, says that “certain actions of his have given to civilised Europe the air of a wild despot but when one compares with other princes one admires his moderation and sees in him a generous prince”. *Histoire de Mysore*, i, 43.

to the air and sun. His features are coarse, his nose small and turned up, his lower lip rather thick. He wears neither beard nor whiskers. His countenance though not handsome is open and calculated to inspire confidence, and his aspect is dignified and majestic.”¹³

He was a man of enormous energy physically and mentally. His indefatigable industry and minute attention to detail were becoming the great ruler that he was. Though there were able ministers to assist him in the administration of the State, yet his constant attention to the details of business of every department was necessary and in fact he himself became the most active part of the administrative machine. From sunrise till late in the night he was pre-occupied with public business. His time was regulated with utmost care and the amount of business both public and private transacted by him far surpassed the limits of ordinary human capacity. His servants woke him up exactly at sunrise shortly after which the majors of the army who had been on duty on the preceding day and night and likewise those who relieved them entered, made their reports and received orders to be transmitted to ministers and generals¹⁴ who themselves had the privilege to see their master if they had anything extraordinary to communicate to him. “Then he sat down on a chair and washed his face while the messengers and spies who had arrived in the night or morning stood on all sides reporting news and intelligence of the day before.”¹⁵ Two or three hours were spent in toilet but when any military affairs required his attention the toilet was no more thought of.¹⁶ Between eight and nine in the morning he received the secretaries of various departments and delivered to them according to their departments the letters received giving at the same time necessary instructions relating to them. His sons, relatives and the nobles then entered and

¹³ *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* i, 36 ; The details of Haidar's daily routine are derived from the accounts of *M.M.D.L.T.* Kirmani and Mirza Ikbal.

¹⁵ Mirza Ikbal, 505.

¹⁶ *M.M.D.L.T.* 27.

he took with them the usual refreshment. Then he appeared at the balcony and received the salute of his elephants and horses and even his tigers 'covered with an embroidered cloth' passed before him.¹⁷ After the repast Haidar entered the Hall of Audience or the grand tent if at the army.¹⁸ "At this audience thirty or forty secretaries are seated along the wall to his left who write continually. Couriers arrive almost every instant and are conducted with great noise and bustle to the feet of the prince, where they lay their despatches. A secretary kneeling takes the packet, opens it and reads the letter. Haidar immediately dictates the answer and the letter is carried to the office of the ministers who affix their names by means of a seal. Haidar himself signs the despatches in order as they are completed, as well a number of private orders".¹⁹ Then if any new horses had been purchased or new cannon bought from any port or arsenal he then inspected them while he also enlisted new recruits who had offered themselves to his service, fixed their monthly pay and allotted them to different ranks in the army.²⁰

Haidar was thus engaged till midday after which he had a short repose. The evening was again spent in the Hall of Audience when only persons of rank or distinction like the ministers, generals or ambassadors from foreign courts were admitted to his presence. He reviewed his troops from the balcony. In the night there was for the most part a comedy usually enlivened by music and dancing²¹ by the Beydar girls. Amidst the entertainment to which Haidar was indifferent he usually discussed with his ministers or ambassadors "sometimes passing into a cabinet to speak with more secrecy" and as in the morning despatched the State business without seeming to be busy.²² After his night meal at midnight he retired to his private apartments.

¹⁷ *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 30.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 31-32.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 32.

²¹ *Ibid.* 37; Kirmani, 489.

²² *Ibid.* 38.

In the despatch of business Haidar's diligence was indefatigable and the active powers of his mind were continually exercised in attending to several subjects at once in dictating answers to a secretary, answering the request of a spy, following the recital of a complex account and at the same time giving each individual his appropriate instruction²³ with such rapidity and precision that nothing escaped his eyes, hearing or attention. "When I sat near Haidar Nayak," says Schwartz, "I particularly observed with what regular succession and rapid despatch his affairs proceeded one after another".²⁴ The activity and industry of Haidar equalled those of Akbar and Aurangzeb and of his contemporary Nana Fadnavis but unlike those rulers he was ignorant of letters. The sum of his literary attainments consisted in learning to write reversely the first letter of his name. To enable him to sign public documents, "he with much labour copies until he could write the form of his first letter which he wrote in a reverse manner".²⁵ Though his mind was little cultivated he had the right perspective. He formed his mind upon a broad experience and sagacious observation of mankind. He was the ideal of a man of trained intellect and superb imagination and he possessed some of those remarkable attributes rarely found even in the cultivated or the literate. In penetration and store of practical wisdom "the deceased Nawab took the lead from all the state ministers, princes and kings of former days"²⁶ and "in the weighty judgment given by God he surpassed all the learned and wise of his time".²⁷ He had a facility of conversing on any subject,²⁸ and although sparing of speech yet when he did speak his language was

²³ Kirmani. 477-82; *Letter of Rev. Schwartz*; Wilks. ii, 575; *Adrian Moens Memoirs*, 164.

²⁴ *Ibid.* *Letter of Rev. Schwartz*.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 192.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 473.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 477.

²⁸ *M.M.D.L.T.* i, 24.

extremely pleasing and appropriate.²⁹ He was also well versed in the sciences of physiognomy and palmistry.³⁰ One of the keen glances of his exalted understanding did immense work. It decided without difficulty the enlistment of recruits, the merits of horses about to be purchased and their prices, the value of precious stones and their selection.³¹

Above all, Haidar was endowed with a most retentive memory.³² He could rapidly comprehend and distinguish the different voices of his men in the audience while attending to his own work and he could recollect a word for years. "To his strength of memory," says Kirmani, "thousands of praises are justly due, for although former generals and mighty kings and rulers had the advantage of learning on their side, yet, God, the true preserver, never endowed any of them with the clear intellect and memory of Haidar."³³

Haidar never considered his illiteracy as any serious impediment to the discharge of the weighty functions of the State. On the other hand, he believed that the success of the administration depended on self-reliance and competency. In this connection, it is interesting to quote the striking anecdote given by Wilks. On the conquest of Citradrug Haidar entrusted the duties of the Civil and Military Governor of the fort and territory of Citradrug to one Shaik Ayaz, a Nayar convert whom Haidar held in great esteem. But modest as he was, faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction conferred on him and felt himself incompetent and particularly adverted to the fact that he could neither read nor write and consequently was incapable of a civil charge. But Haidar instantly replied "Keep a Corla³⁴ at your right hand and that will do you better service than pen and ink". Then assuming a greater countenance "place reliance "

²⁹ Kirmani, 477.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 482.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Mirza Ikbāl, 505; *Adrian Moens Memoirs*. 164.

³³ Kirmani, 82-83.

³⁴ A long whip.

added he "on your excellent understanding. Act, yourself alone, fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribes! Trust in me as I trust in you. Reading and writing! How have I risen to the empire without the knowledge of either".³⁵

Even though Haidar was characterised by such an attitude, yet it did not prevent him from forming a just estimate of learning. He was very solicitous regarding the education of his sons. "Under the care of the fakirs and the eye of his father, Tippu became an expert soldier, and in the management of the horse, the bow, the lance and the musket shone prominent."³⁶

He led a simple and unostentatious life whether as a nawab or as a private soldier. He despised equally the trappings of State and allurements of luxury.³⁷ His dress was scrupulously simple. Generally he wore a vest and trousers of white muslin and a yellow turban.³⁸ As the general of the army he wore a uniform of a vest of white satin with gold flowers faced with yellow and attached by cords and strings of the same colour with a scarf of white silk about the waist.³⁹

He was not fond of sumptuous or delicious dishes, nor was he particular of what he ate. "He gave no orders to his table and ate whatever was placed before him."⁴⁰ Even in his journeys or marches he mostly subsisted on parched grain, almonds and dry bread made of rice or ragi and with them he appeared well-contented.⁴¹ At his table his most intimate friends partook but "the shares and food of all were alike."⁴²

A small silken carpet and two or three pillows were all he required for his bed.⁴³ In short, Haidar's mode of living

³⁵ Wilks. ii, 180.

³⁶ *Life of the Lindsays*, iii.

³⁷ Mirza Ikbal, 506; *M.M.D.L.T.* 23-24.

³⁸ *Ibid.* (M.I.).

³⁹ *M.M.D.L.T. op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Mirza Ikbal, 506.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Mirza Ikbal, 507.

was simple and austere. It was not like that of a man of rank but that of a private soldier.

In spite of his creed Haidar was addicted to drinking but he drank only with moderation. Adrian Moens remarks that "he was a lover of drink and even of strong drink".⁴⁴ Though he indulged in liquor yet he kept up the vigour of his mind and body and Moens observes "he has not since shortened his life or weakened himself".

Of his temper as of his countenance he possessed the disciplined command; his apparent bursts of anger were not the result of mental disturbance but of the necessity of ruling with a rod of iron. In a humbler sphere he would probably have been deemed as a man of wit. When he chose he showed wonderful powers of geniality and friendship and he was not incapable of warming and lasting attachments. He sometimes indulged in raillery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station. "He has none of that stateliness and taciturnity" says *M.M.D.L.T.* "which almost all other princes of the East affect to preserve. He converses with the greatest affability".⁴⁵ In short his frank and unreserved manners and courtesy and liberality gained the hearts of all who approached him and won him the admiration of his contemporaries.

Finally it remains to say a few words about the romantic side of this man's remarkable career. His private life was not overshadowed by the sceptre of the State and he was not denied of the affectionate indulgences in domestic affairs. He was an affectionate son and there are none but pleasant indications of his relations with his family. In 1767 when the combined armies of Haidar and the Nizam suffered a great reverse in the battle against the English forces on the field of Tiruvannamalai Haidar's mother who was then at Bednur was deeply mortified at the news and apprehending danger for her son, notwithstanding the inconvenience of travelling

⁴⁴ Adrian Moens, 164; see Kirmani, 475.

⁴⁵ *M.M.D.L.T.* 23-24.

a hundred and fifty leagues in the rainy season made her journey to Tiruvannamalai. Haidar hearing of the arrival of his mother instantly left the camp with his son Tippu, made her obeisance and conducted her to his tent. When he enquired what could have induced her to make her journey to the battlefield she replied in a low tone "I was desirous, my son, of seeing how you bear the ill-fortune you have sustained". Haidar with his usual serenity, unshakable will and self-reliance said "that if heaven should put him to no greater trial, he should find no difficulty in supporting it". The mother feeling confident of the capabilities of her son departed and returned to Bednur.⁴⁶

Like Nana Fadnavis⁴⁷ Haidar was fond of the fair sex and in the course of his life he married no less than four times.⁴⁸ Of all, he loved most his first wife, Shaphima Begum, the sister of Mir Ali Raza Khān and Tippu's mother,⁴⁹ both for her personal charms and moral virtues. However, Mirza Ikbāl informs us that Haidar used to quarrel with his wife and on some occasions "bore the violence of the lady's tongue with great resignation and patience".⁵⁰ Yet he was fond of her because she undertook in her own person the management of the household and had incessant care for his welfare.⁵¹

Like many of the Mughal monarchs Haidar maintained an extensive harem which consisted of women of all countries and of all descriptions⁵² and even "European mistresses".⁵³ It is further alleged that he did not scruple to seize any girl who possessed superior attractions;⁵⁴ but in this Haidar never committed such excesses which were reserved for Tippu.

⁴⁶ *M.M.D.L.T.*, ii, 98-100.

⁴⁷ See *Kincaid and Parsinis*, iii, 246.

⁴⁸ *H.N. M.A.R.*, 1930, p. 102.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ms. f. 184-86.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 500.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 501.

⁵² *H.N.* ms. f. 109; M.I. 499.

⁵³ Peixoto f. 139.

⁵⁴ *H.N.* ms. f. 109.

Apart from the foregoing, evidence is lacking to support these attacks on Haidar's private life. In any case, Haidar did not allow his sensuality to incapacitate him from his main business of governing: while great allowances must be made for him considering the time in which he lived and the licentiousness which generally resulted from protracted warfare.

Indeed Haidar possessed remarkable qualities of head and heart and in great part of his life, much can be found deserving the applause of posterity.

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PRADHĀNA VENKAPPAIAH—POET AND PLAYWRIGHT

BY M. P. L. SASTRY, M.A.

VENKAPPAIAH was a minister of Mysore serving nominally under the Mysore Kings, Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar II, Nanjarāja Wodeyar and Beṭṭada Chāmarāja Wodeyar, but actually under Haider Ali from about 1763 A.D. till 1780 A.D. His activities, however, were not confined to matters of administration and court politics only. He was an eminent scholar in Sanskrit and Kannada and the many works that he has written bear evidence to his abilities as a writer of wide interests and catholic outlook. He was also interested in music and painting.

Venkappaiah played a very prominent part in the history of Mysore, during the eighteenth century. He belongs to the village Rāmapura which is mentioned in almost all his works and it is on the banks of the Kapini river near Caṭṭnahalli about ten miles south-west of Mysore.

The history of Pradhāna Venkappaiah can be built up from the following sources :—

1. *Mahārājara Vamśāraḥi.*
2. *Haider-Nāmā* (a manuscript in Kannada unearthed by the Archæological Department, Mysore, which is a chronicle describing the detailed accounts of the events in the time of Haider).
3. *Memoirs of Haider Ali from the year 1758 to 1770* (An account of the manuscript is included in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of Mysore for 1937*).
4. *History of Mysore* by Lieut. Colonel Mark Wills.

Venkappaiah lived in troublous times. Conditions at home were none too satisfactory. The atmosphere at the court was full of intrigues. The kings were not very powerful and the administration was usually in the hands of one

or other of the king's favourites or relatives. At the time we are speaking about, the most powerful man in the country^{*} was Kaḷale Nanjarāja, father-in-law of the ruler Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar II. Nanjarāja, Sarvādhikāri Nanjarāja as he was called, was an able administrator. Though he was supposed to be in charge of only the Revenue and the Finance portfolios, actually his influence extended over every other department and his word was law, practically. However he failed to get full control over the army, as it was in the hands of a powerful man like Haider Āli. This Haider Āli was already gaining in prestige and power and in a short time he was able to displace Nanjarāja.

The country was not free from outside troubles either. The Marāthas were leading in large armies again and again; and every time, they had to be sent back with huge ransoms.

Venkappaiah was involved in all the intrigues at court and even in many negotiations with outside powers.

He began his life in a small way. He first won the favour of the king and got a footing in the Mysore administration. The two powerful people at the time in the country were (1) Kaḷale Nanjarāja and (2) Haider Āli. When Immedi Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar came to the throne in 1734 the administration of the country was overhauled. Venkappaiah who had become prominent and influential by then was appointed as the nominal Pradhān,¹ on condition of being in all things subservient to the will of Sarvādhikāri Nanjarāj. For six years Venkappaiah conducted the Civil administration of the country with ability and intelligence. The Pradhān later on seems to have helped the king in overthrowing Nanjarāja. However, this did not help Venkappaiah, for Haider Āli who was becoming all powerful became the superior of the Pradhān. By the time Nanjarāja Wodeyar came to the throne, Venkappaiah's position had become quite secure and he was in charge of all the departments of the Government except the

¹ *History of Mysore*, by Lieut. Col. Mark Wills, Vol. I, Chapter VII.

army.² Pradhāna Venkappaiah was responsible for making a treaty with Raghōba who was about to seize Seringapatam on account of some misunderstanding between Haider Āli and the Marāthā Government and save the country from one more war.

Not only was he in charge of several departments of the Government and discharged his work with marked ability and intelligence but he also took part in a number of battles. One of them is the fierce battle that took place in April 1771 between the Marāthās and the Mysore army. Venkappaiah, with Haider's young son Tippu, fought with the enemies.³

With Haider's coming into power, Venkappaiah lost his prestige and influence in the country. Haider, cautious man that he was, did not like a successful intriguer like Venkappaiah in the capital and under the pretext of punishment for some mistake removed him as Amildar to a distant place like Sira. In spite of his many trials Venkappaiah did not regain his old position in the capital and he spent his last days unhappily.

It is indeed surprising that Venkappaiah, thus immersed in public affairs, found time for sustained literary activity. He wrote dramas, çampus, works on alankāra and grammar in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. All his works are of considerable merit. But none of his works have been published so far.

Manuscripts of his works are found in the Oriental Library, Mysore. A review of some of these will be made here.

The following is the list of works that have been attributed to the authorship of Venkappaiah :—

1. *Kāmarilāsabhāṇa*.
2. *Kuṣṣimbharaprahasana*.
3. *Mahēndravijayaḍima*.
4. *Veerarāghava Vyāyōga*.
5. *Lakṣmīswayamvara Samavākāra*.

² *Mahārājara Vamśāvaḷi*.

³ *Report of the Archæological Department in Mysore for 1930*.

6. *Vibudhadānava Samavākāra.*
7. *Seethākalyāṇa Vīdhī.*
8. *Rukmiṇīmādhavanamanka.*
9. *Ūrvaśeśārvabhāumēhāmrga*
10. *Sudhājharī.*
11. *Kuśalava Campu.*
12. *Alankāramaṇi Darpaṇam.*
13. *Jagannāthaviṇayaśatakāvyam.*
14. *Karṇāṭarāmāyana.*
15. *Indirābhyudaya or Rāmābhyudaya.*
16. *Hanumadvilāsa.*
17. *Hanumatśatakam.*
18. *Sūryaśatakam.*

In Sanskrit, plays have been classified elaborately under various subdivisions, and the well-known writers on rhetoric have divided them into two great classes : (1) *Rūpaka* (principal dramas) and (2) *Upārūpaka* (minor dramas). This kind of division is entirely based on the theme, hero, extent of the play, *Rasa* and other specialities. The principal dramas are of ten species and the minor are of eighteen.

Pradhāna Venkappaiah has written eight types of *rūpakas* (principal dramas) except the *Nāṭaka* and the *Prakarana*. Every one of his dramas may be taken as an illustration of the type specified in Sanskrit.

1. *Kāmaṭilāsabhāṇa* (कामविलासभाण).

Is a play in one act. *Śṛṅgāra* is the dominant *Rasa*. The play begins with the following invocatory stanza :

जयन्ति जगदानन्दमंदारोदयहेतवः ।

चिदानन्दगुरोरंग्रिनखैदुकिरणांकुराः ॥

The stanzas that follow the invocatory one tell us something about the parentage of the poet, his qualifications and other works written by him.

To the question put by the *Pāripārśvaka* कस्य कवेर्वदनारविंद विहरमाणा भारतीविलासोऽयं सूक्तिनिष्पदः, the stage manager replies thus :

जगद्विदितमपि जानाति भवान् तन्न ।
 यश्श्रीरामपादारविंदविहरङ्गगायमाणा मल ।
 स्वांत श्री पवनात्मज प्रसवनस्खाधीननानाकलाः ॥
 येनाकारि करीद्र नंदितसरं सीताविवाहाभिदं ।
 काव्यं श्रीहनुमज्जयेनचसमं कर्णाटरामायणम् ॥
 शब्दार्थोभयमर्मसौरभकलां जानन् रसस्यध्वनेः
 यः पुंभाव सरस्वतीति कवयः जालेषु जेगीयते ।
 आशास्यार्पण तत्समागत वरामासेतु सीताचलम्
 संचिन्वन्विमलं यशो विजयते धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥

अपिच

विश्वान्मेदिनि मौनि भार्गव कुले दुग्धांबुधो प्राज्वले ।
 हंपार्याभिधमंत्रिणस्समुदितो वागां (चां)विका गर्भतः ॥
 आजन्मप्रथमानमान विलसत्सौशील्य साम्राज्य भू ।
 वैकल्पप्रभुरुत्ततो गुणगणः सोऽयं नकेन श्रुतः ॥

कथमस्य संततपरिशील्यमाणब्रह्मविद्यारहस्यस्यप्रीतिकलप्रवर्धमान लक्ष्माविलास-
 सहस्रसमुदितस्यच रूपकेऽपि मरसपदसंदर्भो सरस्वती ।

He was a devotee of Sri Rāma and Hanumān. He belonged to the Bhāradvājagōtra, being the son of one Hampaiāh and Vāgāmbikā. He had written a number of works which included *Sectāvivāhanātaka*, *Hanumajjaya Kāvya* and *Rāmāyaṇa* in Kannada. He was a student of Philosophy too.

The characters that appear in the play are Thallubhatta, Kamalākṣa, Pallavaśekhara, Śaśiprabhā and Campakalatā. Campakalatā is a lady of great beauty (मदनमहाराजविजयवैजयंती भूतायाः). She is the heroine of the play. The mental feelings of the lovers, moonlight and other things are described in an exquisite manner.

The following is one of such fine descriptions :—

प्राचीपंकजलोचना कुचतटी गाढां कपालीमिहत् ।
 काश्मीरद्रव मुद्रणादिवभरं रक्तस्सर्मिदोच्छविः ॥
 श्रान्तिः कैरमणी समागमकृतां मोक्तुं विनिद्रावशात्
 इंदुः पश्चिमशैलकंधरकटामीषत्प्रभो विंदति ॥

2. *Kuṣiṃbharaprahasana* (कुक्षिभरप्रहसन)

This is a play in one act which is similar to a farce. The characters are of the नीच type. Vakradanta, Picamandala, a young widow, and Kuṣiṃbhara who under the garb of a mendicant is engaged in love sport, are some of them. *Hāsyā* is the ruling sentiment in the drama.

3. *Mahēndravijayaḍima* (महेंद्रविजयडिम)

The theme of this play is the well-known Purāṇic story about समुद्रमथन. Mahēndra figures as the hero here. He is captured by Bali a demon lord. Angiras, the priest of gods, suggests that the enemy is to be conquered under the plea of getting nectar. The gods follow the suggestion. With the help of the Lord Nārāyaṇa the whole thing ends well with the victory to Mahēndra. *Raudra* is the ruling sentiment of the play. The drama consists of four acts. The excitement and fear caused to gods and demons on various occasions during the churning of the ocean and the fight between them are well described. The hero of the play is described as Dhīrōdāttanāyaka. The special feature of the drama has been explained by the poet himself.

यत्रैवास्ति समस्त संस्तुतिपदप्रोद्भासिर्नाषड्सा

यत्र प्रच्युतकेतिवृत्तघटना धीरेद्धतो यत्र राट् ।

यदेवासुर यक्ष राक्षस चमू संघर्षणायद्युत

तद्भूयादधिकृत्यदं डिमवर प्रख्यातकं रूपकं ॥

4. *Vecarāghava Vyāyōgam* (वीरराघव व्यायोगम्)

This is a one act play describing the prowess of Śrī Rāma and the defeat of the two powerful demons Khara and Vidūṣa who were causing great trouble to the sages of the Daṇḍaka forest आतेने खरदूषणादिकवघप्रस्तावनां नाटके. The story is based on the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. The characters that appear in the drama are, Khara, Vidūṣaṇa, Citraratha, Mātali, Mahēndra, Jaṭāyu, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāma. The ruling sentiment is the *Vīra*. The scene takes place in Janasthāna.

The poet introduces the character of Jaṭāyu in an effective manner. In the prelude we find a nice conversation going on between the stage manager and his wife. The stage manager pays a compliment to his wife by saying, आर्ये एवमेतत् ।

त्वया विवेकशालिन्या वयं धन्याभृशं प्रिये ।

यथा कमलिनीसंगान्मराळाभृशशोभिनः ॥

and again, enjoying the sweet music of the *Nāṭi*, he says

जटायुरिव रामस्य सौहार्दरसबंधुरः ॥

(The sweet tone, coupled with the sentiment expressed, was like the unequalled friendship of Rāma and Jaṭāyu). Jaṭāyu immediately enters and says, कुमाररामलक्ष्मणाभ्यां लठंतमभिनवमावेदयितुमागतोऽस्मि । to inform Rāma that the two demons Khara and Vidūṣa are causing great havoc to the rituals of the sages and Rāma should put an end to this trouble at once. The description of the hermitage of Rāma is simple and beautiful.

पठंति निगमागमान् ऋषिवराः परं निर्भयाः

मुखंश्च कतिचिद्विजाः गलितविघ्नमातन्वते ॥

चरंति मुनिकन्यका विगतशंक्रमेत्बहिः

नचेद्रघुवराश्रमः कथमिदं नरश्रोत्रेने ॥

There is a slight innovation in the drama. In the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* we find that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet Jaṭāyu when they go to Pañcavaṭi. Khara becomes enraged at the insult done to Sūrpaṇakhī by Rāma and proposes to wage war with him. Here in the drama, Jaṭāyu is made to come to Rāma and instigate the war with Khara and Vidūṣa to save the sages from the trouble.

The play ends with the defeat of Khara and Vidūṣa, and the happy return of Rāma to the hermitage, causing great relief to all the sages in the Daṇḍaka forest.

5. *Lakṣmīswayamvara Samavākāra* (लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरसमवाकार).

6. *Vibudhadānava Samavākāra* (विबुधदानवसमवाकार).

In this, the well-known story of the marriage of Lakṣmī with Nārāyaṇa is dramatised. This is written in three acts

with *Vīra* as the principal sentiment and *Śṛṅgāra* being subsidiary to it. The play is also known by the other name *Vibudhadānavasamavākāra* because it relates to gods and demons. The drama begins with a benediction to Rāma as usual.

जयतु जनक कन्या धन्य वक्षोजकुंभ
 द्वय मृगमदरेखा कल्पना शिल्पशौडः ॥
 जननयन चक्रोरी बालचंद्रावमश्री
 रखिलरिपु नियंता कोऽपि चापसिकांडः ॥

The theme of the play is well suggested in the *Prastāvanā* itself. The actress tells the stage manager that her daughter Śṛṅgāralakṣmī is to be married. The *Sūtradhāra* suggests the name of one Śrīrangavallabha, one of the best actors of the tiems, as a suitable bridegroom (नन्वस्ति श्रीरंगवल्लभो नाम नटचक्रवर्ती). (We must remember that the scene takes place in Seringapatam.)

In the opinion of the *Sūtradhāra*, free choice is to be given to the girl in selecting her partner.

(यं कन्या भुवि भर्तारं कामयन्ते स्वयंवरे ।
 तद्भर्तास्यात्स एवेति सर्वेषामपि संमतिः ॥)

The names Śṛṅgāralakṣmī and Śrīrangavallabha suggest the marriage of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, the greatest actor.

The story depicted here in this play could be summed up in the words of the poet himself.

गत्वा स्वयंवर महोत्सव दर्शनाय
 कृत्वा सुरासुर चमूमसहाक्रियार्हं ॥
 हत्वा प्रियामनुसृतिः प्रवणामनन्यां
 छित्त्वा व्यथां हृदयजां शममेति पूर्णम् ॥

The play ends with the following simple but effective Bharatavākya :—

भूमिस्सदा भवतु गंप्रति सस्यजाता
 नाथा भवंतु निज धर्मरताः पृथिव्याः ॥
 साहित्यसंपदभिर्वृद्धिरपात्तलोकाः
 सर्वान् बुधान् सुखयतु क्षपितांतरायाः ॥

7. *Seetākalyāṇa Vidhī* (सीताकल्याण वीधी)

The poet begins this work with a homage to Vālmīki and his great work *Rāmāyaṇa*.

‘ ‘ वंदे वाल्मीकभुवं वंदारुजनावनैकजन्मभुवम् ॥

यत्काव्यामृतलाभात्सत्कविबुध नाम सार्थता जाता ॥

This type of dramatic art is very rare indeed in Sanskrit. So far, no *Vidhī* work worth the name has been found out, possessing all the special features of this particular variety. This needs a special mention since it satisfies all the rules of *Vidhī*.

The *Natī* says that the *Vidhīs* are very rare like a chaste and a high-born woman.

Look at the conversation of the stage manager and *Natī*.

नटी—अपूर्वः खलु कुलपालिकायाः इव वीधी । संचारस्सरस्वत्याः । अतो व्याकुलाऽसि

सूत्रधारः—जानामि त्वमेकैव कुलपालिकैति । यद्वीधीमेव न जानामि ।

नटी—(सलज्जम्) अलंपरिहासेन नप्रत्यभिजानातु भवती

पर्यायनामधेयस्यात्किंवा लांगलपद्धतेः ॥

कांचनस्यापि किं वा स्यान् वैक्यार्यकृतिश्चका ॥

This is a one-act play describing the marriage of Rāma and Sita, the well known story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Light *Sṛṅgāra* runs throughout the drama.

8. *Rukmiṇīmādhavanāmānka* (रुक्मिणीमाधवनामांकः)

This is also a one-act play dealing with the happy marriage of Rukmiṇī and Mādhava. The characters that appear in the drama are not portrayed as divine beings. Rukmiṇī, the daughter of the Vidarbha king, is in grief because the cruel and the powerful Śiśupāla wants to marry her. Neither the parents nor the girl like the alliance. Śiśupāla being very powerful decides to take away Rukmiṇī by force. In these circumstances Rukmiṇī writes a letter to Mādhava seeking his help. The following is the letter written by Rukmiṇī, carried and delivered to Mādhava by a Brahmin.

स्वस्ति समस्तजगत्प्रशस्तयशोवृन्दस्य समग्रगुणगणप्रकटितानन्दस्य निरवयव शौर्य ?
रमाधवस्य माधवनाम्नः यादवाधिपस्य चरणनतशिरा विज्ञापयति रुक्मिणीनामि
विदर्भराज दुहिता ।

यावत्सुरर्षिं वरवर्णितं तावकीना
लावण्यपूज्यगुणलब्धहृदं त्वदीयम् ।
नायाति चेद्यहतकस्व?रुक्मिसाह्या
दागल्य तावदवमामनुपेक्षणीयाम् ॥
मन्ये मृगेंद्र तरुणीमिव तावकीना
मन्योपहर्तुमसमर्थ इति क्षितौ मां ॥
दूये तथाऽपि दुरुदाहररुक्मिसाह्या
दायाति चेद्य इति वादवशाज्जनानाम् ॥

The play ends with the happy union, the marriage of Rukmiṇī and Mādhava. The main sentiment in the play is not *Śṛṅgāra* but *Karuṇa*. There is a touch of *Śṛṅgāra* in the end. We find the grief of women, cries of dejection, etc. in the play, in plenty.

9. *Ūrvaśeesārvabhaumēhāmṛga* (ऊर्वशीसार्वभौमेहामृग)

The famous love story of Ūrvaśī and Purūravas is dramatised here in four acts. Ūrvaśī, Nārada, Mahēndra, Sikharaka and Kalānidhī are some of the characters. The heroine is portrayed as a divine being. Forceful abduction and fights take place in the drama and the play has light *Śṛṅgāra* sentiment.

These are the eight dramatic works of Venkappaiah.

10. *Sudhājharī* (सुधाञ्जरी)

This is a prose work in Sanskrit written by Venkāmātya, in imitation of *Kādambārī* in two tarangas. The fourth stanza in the beginning of the work runs thus :—

बाणेनसत्कविशिरोमणिनारचिप्रा-
क्कादंबरी मधुरसारधुरीण रीतिः ॥
एषासुधारसञ्जरी विबुधावळीना
मानन्ददास्तु गुणदोषविदामुदारा ॥

The work deals with the story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In the palmyra manuscript, twenty leaves are missing and thus the work is found incomplete.

The following is the invocatory stanza of the work :—

श्री सीतामधुराधरामृतरसस्वीकार सारज्ञता
वासश्शासित पंक्तिर्धरमुखप्राणः प्रवीणाग्रणीः ॥
पायादायतनं श्रियः कणतया यत्सायकाग्रे स्थितः
पारावारपतिर्यदीय करुणापूरेण संपूजितः ॥

The work commences with a description of the milky ocean, the residence of the great Lord. (अस्ति किल समस्त सुमनस्तति नित्य साहित्यप्रदानव्रतचिरार्चितसुकृतराशिरातिषायतनमशेषाणां..... क्षीरसागरनाम)। Further the poet says that God made this as his happy home. लावण्यद्वारीमुत्ति-कामिव भगवतीं भागीरथीं पद्माग्रेण वहन् प्रवाहरूपेण निरुपाधिककरुणानिधिरधिवसति ।

The language employed here is charming with simple grace and the author has paid much attention in the arrangements of words.

The following passage is an example of fine prose where we find the *Śleṣā* and the *Parisankhyā* figures employed. Such pieces will really increase the beauty of prose.

यत्र च नंदनवनद्रुमाइव सदावयोविलासभूषिताः ब्रह्माण्डव चतुराननाः शिवाः
इव शिवानुध्याननिरताः महेंद्रा इव गुरुनम्रताभागिनः पुरुषार्थाः इव विविधफलप्रदा-
तारः प्रशमाइव सशरीराः भक्तिरसाइव सावयवाः सत्त्वगुणविवर्ताः वर्तते हरेश्चिदानंद
महिमाभागवंतो भागवताः ।

The language is chaste and ornate. The beautiful descriptions here and there attract the reader much.

11. *Kuśalava Campū* (कुशलव चम्पू)

This is a narrative in mixed prose and verse, dealing with the story of Kuśa and Lava. The book is divided into five chapters (*Ullāsās*). At the end of the book we find the following stanzas :—

यदश्रीरामपुरीवेश्वरकृपासंप्राप्त षड्दर्शिनी
साम्राज्यान्वित सांख्ययोगकलिता सर्वकष प्राभवः ॥
चम्पूनामनि वैक्यप्रभुमणेरेतस्य काव्ये नवे
हंपार्याब्धि सुधाकरस्य भृशमुल्लासोऽभवत्पंचमः ॥
करुणाकलशांबोधि कल्लोलायित दृष्टये ।
ममस्य रघुवीराय ममस्यादधमूर्तेये ॥

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* upto the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* has been briefly narrated in the first chapter of this book. In describing the capital *Sākēta* we find this charming passage :—

कैलासकोटीव वामदेवप्रचारवती परमेशमूर्तिरिव सदायानुकूला कुलम्बल
दरीव मदोद्धटी सिंहनादमुखरिता नभोविधिरिव नव नव ताराराजदलकृतिः वासव
समेव वज्रश्रीमनोहरा.....वडबाभिधैरपि
सुगुणशीतलैः द्विजराजैरप्यपक्षपातैरनुग्रहबहुलैरप्यग्रहशून्यैः असत्यदूरैरपि असती
दूरैरत्यंतविशारदैरप्यविशारदैः अयत्तैरपियज्ञकर्तृभिः अश्रुताधिकरणैरप्यश्रुताधिकरणैः
अग्रजन्मभिः ।.....संपदापदमाश्चर्याणां आश्रयः श्रियां
भवनमानंदानां निषद्याविद्यानां आवालः सुकृततरुणां अक्षयशेवधिः अर्थानां लास्यपटे
लावण्यानां स्वगेहं सरस्वती विलासस्य वशीकरणमिव शरणागतभरतसाम्राज्यधौर्ध्व्य
धुर्यता निरंतराय संपदनुकंपामांसलं कोसलविषयमात्मनालंकुर्वाणा सर्व सर्वसहाभरण
मंजुळा रंजयति राजधानी ।

A student of Sanskrit will really appreciate the way in which, *Abhanga Ślōṣa*, *Śabdāṅkāra* and *Arthāntaranyāsa* figures are employed in the above passage.

The second chapter of the book deals with the story of *Rāma* and *Sītā*, after their return from the forest.

In the third chapter *Sītā* expresses the desire to pay a visit to the forest again. The story here is based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Kausalyā*, the queen-mother and others have gone to the hermitage of *Rṣyaśṛṅga*, the husband of *Sāntā* to witness a sacrifice performed by him.

अथ कदाचिदपरिमिततपोविभवतुंगस्य ऋष्यशृंगस्य जामातुः शांतानेतुः
तंत्यमानसप्ततंतु विलोकनाय कृततदाश्रमगमनेषु कौसल्याऽदि गुरुजनेषु तपोवना-
लोकनकृतसौहृदेन दौहृदेन भरिता सुचरिता जनकराजसुता रहसि सहसितानन-
नुणासनार्थं नाथमिदमवादीत् ।

वारं वारं कृतमुनिबन्धू वारसंभावनानि
स्वैरं स्वैरं प्रमद्वनमृगलक्ष वैरव्रतानि ।
स्मारं स्मारं मुनिजनवनान्घ्रातनोति प्रकामं
चेतः प्रातः कमलमिव सुमेनेतरामोदभावं ॥

That the queen-mother had left the capital for the hermitage of *Rṣyaśṛṅga*, to attend a sacrifice, when *Sītā* was sent to

the forest by Rāma is a device that is adopted by Bhavabhūti in his *Uṭṭararāma Carita*. The situation described in this campū is based on the method employed by the author of the *Uṭṭararāma Carita*.

The following stanzas describe the pitiable position and the helplessness of Sītā, when she was left in the forest all alone.

दिशि दिशि विकिरंती दीनदीनान् विलोका
ननिल चलित चंचलीरजश्रीगुणैकान् ॥
असिचदविरलोत्थैरश्वभिर्गर्भभारं
बहुल हृदयतापस्पर्शभीतिव सीता ॥
क्वाऽसौऽधस्तादृढमणिकनकनिर्माणमधुरः
क्वाऽरण्यार्नायं कठिणतर पाषाण विषया ॥
विमोह स्वप्नोवा विध्वं विलसितवेतिबहुधा
विलापैर्विश्रेपं व्यतनुतकरुणामपिहृदि ॥

The horse sacrifice performed by Rāma forms the subject-matter of the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter deals with the fight of Lava and Kuśa with the warriors guarding the Aśvamēdha horse. The work ends with the recognition of Lava and Kuśa by Rāma as his sons and his union with Sītā again.

12. *Alankāraṇidarpaṇa* (अलंकारमणिदर्पणम्)

This is a work on poetics.⁴ The work is divided into six chapters dealing with the following topics :—

- (1) *Kāryasvarūpanirūpaṇa* (काव्यस्वरूपनिरूपण)
- (2) *Dhvanisvarūpanirūpaṇa* (ध्वनिस्वरूपनिरूपण)
- (3) *Asamlakṣya kramaryangyanirūpaṇa*
(असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्यनिरूपण)
- (4) *Guṇecbhūtavyangyanirūpaṇa* (गुणीभूतव्यंग्यनिरूपण)
- (5) *Sabdālankāranirūpaṇa* (शब्दालंकारनिरूपण)
- (6) *Arthālankāranirūpaṇa* (अर्थालंकारनिरूपण)

⁴ This is referred to by Dr. S. K. De in his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I.

The author first discusses the various definitions of poetry and gives his own in the words कविकल्पितानुपूर्वी विशिष्टसरसशब्दार्थोभयत्वं काव्यत्वमिति काव्यसामान्यलक्षणम् and opines that the *Rasa* is the all-important factor in a *Kāvya*. He bases his argument on the stanza :—

रसैः शृंगार कारुण्य हास्य रौद्र भयानकैः ॥

वीरादिभिश्च संयुक्तं काव्यमेतदगायत ॥

Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, IV. 9.

He further says that it is neither the story nor the figures of speech that is important, but it is the *Rasa* that increases the beauty of a poem.

He agrees with the older writers in speaking of the necessary equipment of a poet. The poet's requirements, according to him, are threefold. निपुणता, अभ्यास and शक्ति.

He makes the meaning of these terms clear in the following manner :—

निपुणता लोकवृत्तांतकणादपणिन्यादिशास्त्रेतिहासपुराणकाव्यनाटकालंकार भरत गजतुरगरत्नकलाशास्त्रादीनां कविसमयसिद्धद्रव्यगुणक्रियादीनां च भूयः श्रमजनितः संस्कारविशेषः ।

अभ्यासश्च काव्याभिज्ञगुरूपदिष्टसंप्रदायग्रहणविशेषः ।

शक्तिर्निपुणतालोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेषणात् ।

Venkappaiah in defining *Śakti*, simply quotes from the famous *Kāvyaprakāśa*. He gives his own definition for अभ्यास, making the meaning of the term clearer than that of the author of *Kāvyaprakāśa* who says merely काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यासः. In this connection, we must, however, remember that Rājaśekhara, a well-known writer of the twelfth century, gives a different meaning altogether to the word *Śakti*. According to him *Śakti* is the poetic power. But the author of the present work is merely satisfied in saying that the poetic power could be obtained from the study of the world, certain sciences and arts.

In discussing the definitions of poetry Venkāmātya mentions the names of certain writers such as Cakravarti,

Dēśikācārya and *Dīkshita*, the author of *Mahābhārata Tātparyā Sangraha*. He also refers to two of his works: *Hanumatśataka* and *Sūryaśataka* which are not yet traced.

The work under review is an exhaustive one dealing with all the important topics on poetics.

13. *Jagannāthavijayakāvya* (जगन्नाथविजयकाव्यम्)

This is a work on grammar, giving a number of examples for the usages according to the aphorisms of Pāṇini, the great grammarian. The work is written in the form of a *Kāvya* dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa. The *Kāvya* begins with the following invocation to Rāma :—

जयतु जलधर श्री जन्मभूमीमनीषा
 बहुल तनूभा भासमानो समानः ॥
 जनकदुहितृ वक्षोजात शैलावमर्दे
 परिणत गजराजः प्रौढसकेतराजः ॥

The following is the colophon we find at the end of each *Ullāsa* :

इति श्रीमद्रामपुराधीश श्रीरघुनाथचरणद्वंद्वाराधनसंपत्सारस्वतवैभवविश्वजननी-
 विद्य श्रं वेंकामाल्य विरचिते श्रीमति जगन्नाथविजयमहाकाव्ये

The work is divided into twenty-seven chapters written in various metres. The object of the poem is to give a number of correct forms of verbs in accordance with the Pāṇinian rules rather than describe the story of Kṛṣṇa.

The following is the analysis of the poem :—

1.	Chapter deals with	<i>Sib</i>	forms having	27 stanzas.
2.	„	<i>Luk</i>	„	56 „
3.	„	—	„	36 „
4.	„	<i>Śyan</i>	„	80 „
5.	„	<i>Śnu</i>	„	25 „
6.	„	—	„	75 „
7.	„	—	„	25 „
8.	„	—	„	20 „
9.	„	<i>Śnā Vikaraṇa</i>	„	36 „
10.	„	<i>Ńing</i>	„	100 „
11.	„	<i>San</i>	„	67 „

12.	Chapter deals with	<i>Yang</i>	forms having 58 stanzas.
13.	„	<i>Yang</i>	66 „
14.	„	<i>Chri</i>	50 „
15.	„	<i>Karma and Kartru</i>	141 „ •
16.	„	<i>Kṛt</i>	103 „
17.	„	—	115 „
18.	„	<i>Sing and Vrddhi</i>	101 „
19.	„	<i>Satva</i>	108 „
20.	„	<i>Lat</i>	53 „
21.	Chapter deals with	<i>Lit</i>	forms having 103 stanzas.
22.	„	<i>Lṛt</i>	32 „
23.	„	<i>Lōt</i>	27 „
24.	„	<i>Lri</i>	30 „
25.	„	<i>Ling</i>	24 „
26.	„	<i>Lung</i>	65 „
27.	„	<i>Lṛng</i>	31 „

There are 1,654 verses in all the twenty-seven chapters. The perusal of the analysis of the book will tell us that it gives us the significations of Tenses and Moods in Sanskrit, and terminations of important roots belonging to various conjugations. In it, we find all the important forms of verbs that are generally used in Sanskrit language. The work is a good guide to usages in Sanskrit.

14-16. *Karṇātarāmāyaṇa* (कर्णाटरामायण), *Indirābhyudaya* (इन्दिराभ्युदय), or *Rāmābhyudaya* (रामाभ्युदय), and *Hanumadvilāsa* (हनुमद्विलास), are the three Kannaḍa works written by Venkāmātya.⁵

17-18. *Hanumatśataka* (हनुमत्शतक) and *Sūryaśataka* (सूर्यशतक) are two *Śatakas* in Sanskrit and they are not traced as yet. He refers to them in his work *Alankāramañi-darpaṇa*.

Venkappaiah was a man of varied parts. It is no easy distinction for a man to be at once, a successful minister,

⁵ Mahamahopādhyāya Rao Bahadur late Mr. R. Narasimhaiah has referred to these in his *Kaṇṇāṭaka Karicarite*, Vol. III, p. 129.

a warrior of considerable enterprise, a man of great culture and an erudite scholar. Venkappaiah had this unique combination of qualities, and if for no other reason at least for this, his works deserve our respectful attention. Indeed his works may not represent the best in our literature, but they have the impress of quality and of dignified ease, and they are pleasant reading. It would be gratifying to see some of his works in print.

A NOTE ON THE BĀṆA AND PALLAVA RELATIONSHIPS IN C.A.D. 1200-1280

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

FROM the Hoysala inscriptions found at Harihar and Sravaṇa Beḷagoḷa it is found that the Hoysala king Nārasimha II is called the uprooter of the Makara or Maḥara kingdom or sovereignty.¹ The first of these records being the earliest of the two, dated in A.D. 1224 shows that Nārasimha II must have uprooted the Mahara kingdom in or before that year. Accordingly another inscription² dated in the previous year A.D. 1223 states clearly that he forcibly captured among others the Magara. A later inscription dated in A.D. 1232, from the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvendipuram mentions also the uprooting of the Mahara. Therefore there must have been two endeavours; the first capture and uprooting of the Mahara must have occurred in or before A.D. 1223,³ and the second attempt took place in about A.D. 1231-32. The Tiruvendipuram inscription⁴ of the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, which is dated in his sixteenth year (A.D. 1232), informs that when Nārasimha II heard that the Cōḷa king had been captured and imprisoned by the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga at Sendamaṅgalam and that he had destroyed his kingdom, he exclaimed that his trumpet shall not be blown unless and until he maintained the reputation of having been the establisher of the Cōḷa country,⁵

¹ *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 507.

² *Ep. Car.* Vol. V, Pt. I, Cn. 203; Intro. p. 22 f.; Cn. 197, K. 434.

³ A record of Nārasimha II in the year A.D. 1222, reports that the king was marching against Sriraṅgam in the South, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Cn. 56.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 160 f.

⁵ He is already described as the establisher of the Cōḷa king in the other earlier records of the Hoysalas, which are dated in A.D. 1223-24 and as such it is clear that in his early years, about ten years prior to the Sendamaṅgalam incident, Rājarāja III had been helped

and started from his capital Dōrasamudra on his campaign. Going by way of the Gujalhaṭṭi pass⁶ he uprooted the Mahara country, seized him, his women and treasures, and halted at Pāchchūr. From there he sent his Daṇḍanāyakas, with the order to capture Kōpperuñjīṅga and liberate the Cōḷa emperor. Thus it is seen that this record relates the events that took place in the period A.D. 1231-32 and does not refer to any event prior to A.D. 1230. Hence from the above references it is clear that the Mahara kingdom was for a second time uprooted and the statement of the Tiruvendipuram record implies also that the Mahara king must have been an obstacle on his way to Sendamaṅgalam in the Cōḷa country, and that his power was such that the personal valour of Nārasimha II was needed. The Mahara chief or king was evidently a counted ally⁷ of Kōpperuñjīṅga and he had to be overcome by the Hoysala king.

The Mahara, Magara or Makara of these inscriptions seem to be identical with Magadadēsam, Magadai of the Tamil inscriptions of the time in which figures a Bāṇa chief Magadaippermāl (i.e. chief of Magadai). In fact one of the Tamil inscriptions makes the identity certain.⁸ We find that a certain Poṇṇarappiṇaṇ Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ is mentioned in a record⁹ of Peruñjīṅga dated in his thirtieth year, as a feudatory officer. This chief is apparently identical with Magadēsan Vāṇakulōttamaṇ, Viramāgaḍaṇ Rājarājadēvaṇ Poṇṇarappiṇāṇ¹⁰ Magadaippermāl¹¹ in the inscriptions from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai

by Nārasimha II. The specific statement of the Tiruvendipuram record that he wanted to maintain his reputation as the establisher of the Cōḷa kingdom, is clearly indicative of the earlier achievement of his. On his first attempt in establishing the Cōḷa country, he had also to fight with the Mahara king.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 160 f.

⁷ The inscriptions of Poṇṇarappiṇaṇ Magadaippermāl are all in the South Arcot District and Pudukkotta State, and this also in a way shows that the Bāṇa was allied to Pallava.

⁸ *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII, No. 765.

⁹ No. 159 of 1906.

¹⁰ Nos. 523, 532, 537 of 1902.

¹¹ Nos. 507, 543, 544 of 1902 ; Nos. 381, 382, 383, 385 of 1906.

and Kuḍumiyāmalai. The Mahara kingdom must have been in the Coimbatore District as has been suggested by Dr. Hultzsch.¹² A twenty-seventh year record¹³ of Kulōttunga III contains a compact made among a number of chiefs to stand by the orders of Chēḍiyarāyaṇ and to refrain from communication with Magadainādālvāṇ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ and Kulōttungaśōla Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ, either by sending men or letters. This implies that the two last named chiefs, who were Bāṇas and who must have been the subordinates of the Cōlas,¹⁴ had become royal enemies, and even communication with them in any way was prohibited, as it was against the interests of the realm. This record gives us an indirect clue as to when the Bāṇas had become the enemies of the Cōla king. It was just about A.D. 1205, the date of the record, that the Bāṇas seem to have become inimical. An undated verse-inscription¹⁵ claims for Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-perumāḷ the conquest of Kāḍava, Magadha and Gaṅga. The probable date of the record must be later than A.D. 1200. We are unaware which Bāṇa chieftain was subdued by him. The Bāṇas who had become refractory were subdued by the Cōla with the help of the Adigamāṇ. But the Bāṇas did not remain docile and the Cōla relations with them were at a high tinge of enmity which necessitate the prohibition of communication with them either by men or letters. These perhaps explain the suggestion that the Kāḍava Peruñjīṅga might have had the Bāṇas as his ally, when the Cōla king Rājarāja III was imprisoned at Sendamaṅgalam in about A.D. 1231. The Bāṇas had resented their subordination to the Cōlas in about A.D. 1205, and sometime later, in A.D. 1223, they were defeated by the Hoysalas. The first war against the Bāṇas by Nārasimha must have occurred as determined above, in about A.D. 1223 and must have been undertaken by him in pursuance of a policy

¹² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 161.

¹³ No. 516 of 1902.

¹⁴ The very name Kulōttungaśōla Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇ is indicative of the subordination of the Bāṇas to the Cōlas.

¹⁵ No. 552 of 1906.

of helping the Cōḷa who was his relative and who was dependent upon his assistance, as was the case in the second war against the Mahara kingdom in A.D. 1231-32, when Rājarāja III was imprisoned by Peruñjiṅga. Thus it is seen that the Bāṇas had become a powerful foe of the Cōḷas after the twenty-seventh year of Kulōttunga III, till which year they were subordinate to him. And when Nārasimha II had tried to establish the Cōḷa king, i.e. Rājarāja III, in or before A.D. 1223, the power of the mighty Bāṇa chief had to be subdued.¹⁶ This suggestion gains support in the fact that the records left by the Bāṇa chief Magadaipperumāl proclaim that he had conquered the Cōḷa and made him pay a tribute of elephants :

*Āḷandarukaḍal vaiyattāraṣu śeluttiya seṅgōlaraśellām
Vēḷantaru koḍai Vāṇaḍivākaraṇ viḍimuraiśeyvadu
meykaṇḍir*

*Īḷandirayidu Māṇikkappadiyidumiṇ Teṇṇar idirāgir
Śōḷaṇ tiraiyidum yāṇaikkunḡaḷaiiḍumenṇirum idu Śoṇṇōm ē.*¹⁷

Beyond all the above noted facts that make us believe that Bāṇa and Pallava were allied, the most important feature that

¹⁶ The first war of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya against the Cōḷas took place in A.D. 1216-17, when Kulōttunga III was alive and Rājarāja III received back the crown. It was on a Bāṇa that the conquered territory of the Cōḷas was given in the first instance. The Cōḷa king Rājarāja III, did not remain submissive, refused to obey the commands of the Pāṇḍya king, denied him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard against the Pāṇḍya. The Hoysalas were on his side, and though the inscriptions of that Pāṇḍya king say that he waged a deadly war with the Cōḷa and caused great damage, yet the fact that the Hoysalas came to establish a permanent outpost in the South at Kaṇṇaṇūr, which was on the borders of the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries, make it explicit that the combined forces of the Hoysala and the Cōḷa kings must have been successful. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, p. 44.

¹⁷ Nos. 507 and 543 of 1902. From 507 of 1902, it is clear that Poṇṇparappiṇṇāṇ Magadaiperumāl was born on the asterism of Uttirāḍam, that he was called Vāṇaḍivākaraṇ and that he had conquered Ceylon, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Vaḍugu countries.

strengthened their alliance was the fact that their territories lay contiguous to each other.¹⁸

Another point to note in the twenty-seventh year record of Kulōttunga III is that after having declared the first part of the compact made among themselves, it is added that if the two Vāṇakōvaraiyaṇs and Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ should perform any act, the other chiefs, *i.e.* the persons who were on the side of Čēdiyarāyaṇ, would march with army and horses against them and declare that if they did not act in the said manner they shall bear the sandals of Vāṇakōvarāyaṇ. The importance of this part of the compact lies in the fact that the name of Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyaṇ, who is better known as Maṇavāḷapperumāl, is associated with the two Bāṇas and this is a clear indication that the Bāṇa and the Pallava chiefs who were till then the Cōḷa subordinates, had rebelled, either independently or conjointly and become the declared enemies of the Cōḷa overlord. The foremost among the chiefs who were subordinate to the Cōḷas rebelled in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and becoming the open enemies of their erstwhile overlord, attempted to become independent. The position of the Cōḷa king of the day, *i.e.* Rājarāja III had thus become weak and being personally unable to stand the situation, he had to seek the help of the powerful neighbour, the Hoysalas, who were related to the Cōḷas by marriage ties. The effective interference of the Hoysala king gave him the honour of establishing the Cōḷa.

¹⁸ River Pennār flowed in the Pallava country (Tonḍaināḍu) and Bāṇa country (Magadaimaṇḍalam), Nos. 105 of 1906; 66, 68, 71, 82 and 97 of 1906, 526 of 1902. In the Bāṇa country the division Mudiyanūr-paṇṇu and the place Maruvūr were situated in the southern bank of the river Pennār. Nos. 66, 71 of 1906. And Śembai *alias* Virarājendrapuram and Vālaiyur were situated on the northern bank of the said river. Nos. 68, 82, 97, 98 of 1906. Magada country was also called Vāṇagōpappāḍi. Araśūr was situated in South Pennār which flowed in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. No. 105 of 1905.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

New Series—No. IV

The Dove in the Pre-historic Cult of the Indus Valley

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IN 1922, the well-known Bengali archaeologist and historian the late Prof. R. D. Banerji discovered the pre-historic site at Mohenjo-daro in Sind. After his death, Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, another Bengali archaeologist and explorer discovered twenty more pre-historic sites in that province. Among these sites is that of Chanhudaro in the Nawab Shah district of Sind, which he discovered in 1930. He carried on some excavations there which were, however, limited in their scope. Even these limited excavations yielded antique objects which disclosed close affinity with those unearthed at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa (in the Montgomery district of the Punjab). The Government of India directed that a thorough and exhaustive exploration of the site at Chanhudaro should be undertaken. With this object in view, it granted a license to the expedition which was sent out to India in 1935 by the Academy of India and Iranian Studies of Boston (U.S.A.) for carrying an exploration work in the Indus Valley. During the cold weather of 1935-36, the staff of this expedition under the direction of Dr. Ernest Mackay explored and excavated one of the mounds at Chanhudaro. It is the second mound which is the biggest. These excavations brought to light grey and polychrome pottery, copper and bronze implements and tools similar to those found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Various other relics were discovered. Among these are seals bearing representations of bulls with mangers in front of them. In this connection it may be stated here that Prof. Henry Frankfort recently discovered at Tell Aqral (in Mesopotamia) the fragment of a green steatite vase with a humped bull and a manger impressed on it. Prof. Frankfort says that it is the first discovery of

the representation of an Indian cult-object in an entirely Mesopotamian setting and is of the greatest importance[•] inasmuch as it indicates something more than intermittent communication or trade between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley. Another interesting relic unearthed at Chanhudaro is a seal impression depicting two women holding between them a staff from the top of which hung the branches of pipal trees. Dr. Mackay says that this object has possibly some cult significance.

But the most interesting relics which have been discovered at Chanhudaro and with which I am concerned for the purposes of this paper are the figurines of the Mother-Goddess often associated with little model doves with outstretched died wings. It is interesting to note that the dove was intimately associated with the worship of the Mother-Goddess in Crete, Sardimia and Mesopotamia.¹

Now from what has been stated above, the two under-mentioned questions arise :—

- (i) Who is this Mother-Goddess and what were her functions ?
- (ii) If the birds which have been found associated with the Mother-Goddess have been rightly identified as doves, the question arises why this is so, that is to say, why the doves are connected with the cult of the Mother-Goddess ?

In reply to the first question, I shall say that the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro and the surrounding countryside professed the most catholic faith of the ancient world. They worshipped the Great Mother or the Mother-Goddess. Though the figurines representing her, which have been hitherto discovered, appear to have been crudely moulded, they somewhat resemble the Snake-Goddess of ancient Crete. Like all agriculturists of primitive times, the people of Mohenjo-daro,

¹ *Vide* the article entitled, " American excavations at Chanhudaro (Sind), in *Science and Culture* (Cal.) for January 1934, pp. 347-49.

Harappa, Chanhudaro and other places must have paid their 'devoirs to and adored the spirit of vegetation and fertility who was embodied and incarnated in trees and plants. The tree which was greatly venerated by these ancient Indians was the graceful Pipal or *Asvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*). A clay seal discovered at Mohenjo-daro depicts the sacrifice of a goat to this tree which was regarded as the Tree of Life. From this ancient rite has survived the custom, which prevails in the villages of Sind even at the present day, of presenting offerings to this tree. I am also of opinion that the prevalence of this custom in the Indus Valley is also evidenced by another seal which has been discovered at Chanhudaro and which depicts two women holding between them a staff from the top of which hung the branches of pipal trees. Another seal which proves the veneration paid by these ancient Indians to trees as incarnations of the spirit of vegetation and fertility, depicts the marriage of two trees, which rite is practised in India even at the present day.

It will not be out of place to mention here that though the excavations carried on at Mohenjo-daro and its adjacent pre-historic sites have thrown very little light on our knowledge of the agriculture of the Indus peoples, this much is certain that wheat and barley were cultivated by them, as the remains of both these grains have been unearthed from the ruins of those localities. Those people not only fed upon the above-mentioned two cereals and dates, but also upon leaf, mutton, pork and poultry.

Now I shall take up for discussion the second question about the association of doves with the Mother-Goddess. From what has been stated above, it would appear that the Mother-Goddess was the incarnation of the spirit of vegetation and fertility and as such, must have presided over agriculture and also over wealth and prosperity which resulted therefrom. In this capacity, she appears to have been the ante-type of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī who is the wife of Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) the Preserver. She is the deity who presides over

agriculture, wealth and prosperity, both of which latter are produced by successful agricultural pursuits and good crops.*

The Barn Owl (*Strix flammea*, Linn) is called in Bengali Lakṣmi Penṇa, as it is sacred to Lakṣmi, the Hindu goddess of agriculture, wealth and prosperity. In the Hindu pictures of this goddess, the portrait of this deity is always depicted with this sacred owl, along with conch-shells and sheaves of rice plants, all of which are her symbols. As the Lakṣmī Penṇa or Barn Owl is the companion of the goddess of wealth and prosperity, the Hindus of Bengal consider it a good omen if one of these birds builds its nest in a house, because the people believe that its advent will bring wealth to the dwellers thereof and otherwise confer good luck and prosperity on them.

Now I shall return to the main question as to why the dove is associated with the Mother-Goddess. I am inclined to opine that when the crops of wheat and barley ripened flocks of birds used to come to the fields to forage upon the grains thereof. The primitive people of the Indus Valley thought that these birds had some sort of mysterious connection with the Mother-Goddess who incarnated in herself the spirit of vegetation and fertility and who by reason of her miraculous powers, caused their crops to germinate, grow up to maturity and produce the grains. In course of time, they came to look upon the doves as symbols of that deity and as bringers of wealth and prosperity. They, therefore, began to associate these birds with the figurines of that goddess, just in the same way as the Hindus of Bengal at the present day, always associate the Barn Owl with their goddess Lakṣmī who, as I have already shown above is the proto-type of the Mother-Goddess of the pre-historic cult of the Indus Valley.

I shall conclude this paper by giving below the results of the foregoing discussion :—

1. The pre-historic dwellers of the Indus Valley were agriculturists and partially lived upon a diet of grains and dates.

2. They, therefore, worshipped the Mother-Goddess who was their presiding deity of agriculture.

3. They looked upon doves as symbols of that deity and as bringer of wealth and prosperity.

4. They, therefore, always associated little models of doves with the figurines of their Mother-Goddess.

5. This was, most likely, done by them by way of presenting votive offerings to her deityship.

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PRIMITIVE MENTALITY

BY DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

“The myth is not my own, I had it from my mother.”

—*Euripides*, fr. 488.

THERE is, perhaps, no subject that has been more extensively investigated and more prejudicially misunderstood by the modern scientist than that of folklore. /By “folklore” we mean that whole and consistent body of culture which has been handed down, not in books but by word of mouth and in practice, from a time beyond the reach of historical research, in the form of legends, fairy-tales, ballads, games, toys, crafts, medicine, agricultural and other rites, and forms of social organisation, especially those that we call “tribal”. This is a cultural complex independent of national and even racial boundaries, and of remarkable similarity throughout the world¹ /in other words, a culture of extraordinary vitality.

¹ “The metaphysical notions of man may be reduced to a few types which are of universal distribution” (Fr. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1922, p. 156): for example “wherever the conception of a special kingdom of the dead, the opposite of the kingdom of the living, takes its rise, its situation is laid in the West. In the East arise light and the light of life: sun and life sink in the West” (Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, *infra*, p. 208).

The material of folklore differs from that of exoteric "religion", to which it may be in a kind of opposition, as it is in a quite different way to "science",² by its more intellectual and less moralistic content, and more obviously and essentially by its adaptation to vernacular transmission³: on the one hand, as cited above, "the myth is not my own, *I had it from my mother*," and on the other "the passage from a traditional mythology to 'religion' is a humanistic decadence."⁴

The content of folklore is metaphysical. Our failure to recognize this is primarily due to our own abysmal ignorance

² The opposition of religion to folklore is often a kind of rivalry set up as between a new dispensation and an older tradition; the gods of the older cult becoming the evil spirits of the newer. The opposition of science to the content of both folklore and religion is based upon the view that "such knowledge as is not empirical is meaningless." The most ludicrous, and pathetic, situation appears when, as happened not long ago in England, the Church joins hands with science in proposing to withhold the fairy-tale from children as being *untrue*: it might have reflected that those who can make of mythology and fairy-lore nothing but *literature* will do the same with scripture.

³ The words "adaptation to vernacular transmission" should be noted. Scripture recorded in a sacred language is not thus adapted: and a totally different result is obtained when scriptures originally written in such a sacred language are made accessible to the "*untaught manyfolk*" by translation, and subjected to an incompetent "free examination". In the first case there is a faithful transmission of material that is always intelligible, although not necessarily always completely understood: in the second, misunderstandings are inevitable. In this connection it may be remarked that "literacy", now-a-days thought of as almost synonymous with "education", is actually of much greater importance from an industrial than from a cultural point of view. What an illiterate Indian or American Indian peasant knows and understands would be entirely beyond the comprehension of the compulsorily educated product of the American public schools.

⁴ Evola, J. *Rivolta contra il mondo moderno*, 1934, p. 374, Note 12.

"For the primitives, the mythical world really existed. Or rather, it still exists" (Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Expérience mystique et les symboles chez les primitifs*, 1928, p. 295). One might add, that it will exist for ever in the eternal now of the Truth, regardless of the truth or error of history.

of metaphysics and of its technical terms. We observe, for example, that the primitive craftsman leaves in his work something unfinished, and that the primitive mother dislikes to hear the beauty of her child unduly praised; it is "tempting Providence", and may lead to disaster. That seems like nonsense to "us". And yet there survives in our vernacular the explanation of the principle involved: the craftsman leaves something undone in his work for the same reason that the words "to be finished" may mean either to be perfected or to die.⁵ Perfection is death: when a thing has been altogether fulfilled, when all has been done that was to be done, potentiality altogether reduced to act (*kṛtakṛtyah*), that is the end: those whom the gods love die young. This is not what the workman desired for his work, nor the mother for her child. It can very well be that the workman or the peasant mother is no longer conscious of the meaning of a precaution that may have become a mere superstition: but assuredly we, who call ourselves anthropologists, should have been able to understand what was the idea which alone could have given rise to such a "superstition", and ought to have asked ourselves whether or not the peasant by his actual observance of the precaution is not defending himself from a dangerous suggestion to which we, who have made of our existence a more tightly closed system, may be immune.

As a matter of fact, the destruction of superstitions invariably involves, in one sense or another, the death of the folk, or in any case the impoverishment of their lives. To take a typical case, that of the Australian aborigines, D. F. Thompson who has recently studied their remarkable initiatory symbols, observes that their "mythology supports the belief in a ritual or supernatural visitation that comes upon those who disregard or disobey the law of the old men. When this belief in the old men and their power—which, under

⁵ Just as Sanskrit *pariṇiroā* is both "to be completely despirated" and "to be perfected" (see my "Some Pāli Words," *HJAS*, 1939, 4, pp. 156-63). The Buddha's *parinibbāṇa* is a "finish" in both senses.

tribal conditions I have never known to be abused—dies, or declines, as it does with ‘civilisation’, chaos and racial death follow immediately.”⁶ The world’s museums are filled with the traditional arts of innumerable peoples whose culture has been destroyed by the sinister power of our industrial civilisation: peoples who have been forced to abandon their own highly developed and beautiful techniques and significant designs in order to preserve their very lives by working as hired labourers at the production of raw materials: as Handy, for example, remarks of the peoples of the Marquesas Islands that “their culture has been almost entirely destroyed by the devastating activity of the white man.”⁷ Not only does the apostle of modern civilisation fail to realise the extent to which the life of his own people has been impoverished, but as little does he realise that the “white man’s burden”, of which he speaks with so much unction, is the burden of death. He feels no responsibility, and speaks rather as a helpless puppet than as a man when he says “However much Indian art may be injured or individuals suffer, progression,

⁶ *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 25, 1939.

⁷ Handy, W. C., *L’art des Îles Marquises*, 1938, p. 13; cf. P. H. Buck, *Anthropology and Religion*, New Haven, 1939; and T. E. Williams, *Drama of Orokols*, Oxford, 1940.

A traditional civilization presupposes a correspondence of the man’s most intimate nature with his particular vocation (see René Guénon, “Initiation and the crafts,” in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VI, 1938). The forcible disruption of this harmony poisons the very springs of life and creates innumerable maladjustments and sufferings. The representative of “civilization” cannot realise this, because the very idea of vocation has lost its meaning and become, for him, a “superstition”: the civilized man, being himself a kind of economic slave, can be put, or put himself, to any kind of work that occasion seems to demand, in total disregard of his individual character, cannot understand that to rob a man of his hereditary vocation is precisely to take away his “living” in a far more profound than merely economic sense. The “native” victim of industrial exploitation is not even left with that “free choice” of a vocation which the proletarian vainly supposes that he has obtained in exchange for his birthright!

in line with the manufacturing enterprise of civilisation, must be allowed free course".⁸ At the same time, modern scholars, with some honourable exceptions, have as little understood the content of folklore as did the early missionaries understand what they thought of only as the "beastly devices of the heathen"; Sir J. G. Fraser, for example, whose life has been devoted to the study of all the ramifications of folk belief and popular rites, has only to say at the end of it all, in a tone of lofty superiority, that he was "led on, step by step, into surveying, as from some specular height, some Pisgah of the mind, a great part of the human race; I was beguiled, as by some subtle enchanter, into inditing what I cannot but regard as a dark, a tragic chronicle of human error and folly, of fruitless endeavour, wasted time and blighted hopes"⁹—words that would seem to apply rather to a view of modern European civilisation than to any view of tribal society!

The distinctive characteristic of a traditional society is order.¹⁰ The life of the community as a whole and that of the individual whatever his special function may be, conforms to recognized patterns, of which no one questions the validity: the criminal is much rather the man who does not *know* how

⁸ Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1904, p. 272.

⁹ From the Preface to *Aftermath*: one is reminded of Professor Lanman's famous designation of the Brāhmanas as "puerile, arid, inane" (*Sanskrit Reader*, p. 357) and to which Max Müller referred as "simply twaddle". As R. N. R. Sarma has remarked in the *Aryan Path*, 1938, p. 413, "If anthropological investigations and researches just stopped with an exhibition of the superiority-complex, they would be ignored or condemned"; they have, nevertheless in many cases a documentary value, and sometimes rise above the level of these lucubrations.

¹⁰ "What we mean by a normal civilization is one that rests on principles, in the true sense of this word, and one in which all is ordered and in a hierarchy consistent with these principles, so that everything is seen to be the application and extension of a purely and essential intellectual or metaphysical doctrine: that is what we mean when we speak of a "traditional civilisation" (René Guénon, *Orient et Occident*, 1924, 235).

to behave, than a man who is unwilling to behave.¹¹ In other words, the traditional society is an unanimous society, and as such is to be contrasted with a democratic and individualistic society in which the major problems are decided by a majority and minor problems by each individual for himself.

It is often supposed that in a traditional society, or under tribal or clan conditions, which are those in which a culture of the folk flourished most, the individual is arbitrarily compelled to conform to the patterns of life that he actually follows. It would be truer to say that under these conditions the individual is devoid of social ambition. It is very far from true that in traditional societies the individual is regimented : it is only in democracies, soviets and dictatorships that a way of life is imposed upon the individual from without.¹²

¹¹ " Sin " (Skr. *āgas*) is then really an awkwardness, a defect, the consequence of an ignorance. On the other hand, the traditional life, a *mārgya* and *svargya* procedure, is conducted in the same way that a rite is performed ; it is not without good reason that Sanskrit *karma* applies equally to a ritual operation, to any kind of making, and to any kind of doing. What matters, then, in life as in the ritual art, is that whatever is done be done correctly, in " good form ". What is not important is how one *feels* about the work to be done or life to be lived : all such feelings being tendentious and self-referent. But if, over and above the *correct* performance of the rite or any action, one also understands its form, if all one's actions are conscious and not merely instinctive reactions provoked by pleasure or pain, whether anticipated or felt, this awareness of the underlying principles is immediately dispositive to spiritual freedom. In other words, wherever the action itself is correct, the action itself is symbolic; and provides a discipline, or path, by following which the final goal must be reached : and on the other hand, whoever acts informally, having opinions of his own, and " knowing what he likes ", is reducing his person to the measure of his individuality.

¹² A Democracy is a government of all by a majority of proletarians : a Soviet, a government by a small group of proletarians ; and a Dictatorship, a government by a single proletarian. In the traditional and unanimous society there is a government by a hereditary aristocracy, the function of which is to maintain an existing order, based on eternal principles, rather than to impose the views or arbitrary will (in the most technical sense of the words, a *tyrannical* will) of any individual party.

In the unanimous society the way of life is self-imposed in the sense that "fate lies in the created causes themselves", and this is one of the many ways in which the order of the traditional society conforms to the order of nature: it is in the unanimous societies that the possibility of self-realisation, that is the possibility of transcending the limitations of individuality, is best provided for. It is in fact for the sake of such a self-realisation that the tradition itself is perpetuated. It is here, as Jules Romains has said, that we find "the richest possible variety of individual states of consciousness, in a harmony made valuable by its richness and density",¹³ words that are peculiarly applicable, for example, to Hindu society. In the various kinds of proletarian government, on the other hand, we meet always with the intention to achieve a rigid and inflexible uniformity,—all the forces of "education", for example, are directed to this end: it is a national, rather than a cultural type that is constructed, and to this one type everyone is expected to conform, at the price of being considered a peculiar person, or even a traitor. The explanation of this difference is to be found in the fact that the order that is imposed on the individual from without in any form of proletarian government is a *systematic* order, not a "form" but a cut and dried "formula", and generally speaking a pattern of life that has been conceived by a single individual or some school of academic thinkers ("Marxians", for example): while the pattern to which the traditional society is conformed by its own nature, being a metaphysical pattern, is a consistent but not a systematic form, and can therefore provide for the realisation of many more possibilities and for the functioning

¹³ As remarked by J. Evola, "In a mediæval feudalism and imperialism, or any other civilization of the traditional type, unity and hierarchy can co-exist with a maximum of individual independence, liberty, affirmation and constitution" (*Rivolta contra il Mondo Moderno* Milan, 1934, p. 112). But, as Mr. Hocart has said: "Hereditary service is quite incompatible with the industrialism of today, and that is why the system of caste is always painted in such dark colours" (*Les Castes*, Paris, 1939, p. 238).

of many more kinds of individual character than can be included within the limits of any system.

The actual unity of folklore represents on the popular level precisely what the doctrine of the élite represents in a relatively learned environment. The relation between the popular and the learned metaphysics is, moreover, analogous to and partly identical with that of the lesser to the greater mysteries. To a very large extent both employ one and the same symbols, which are taken more literally in the one case and in the other understood parabolically: for example, the "giants" and "heroes" of popular legend are the titans and gods of the more learned mythology, the seven-leagued boots of the hero correspond to the strides of an Agni or a Buddha, and "Tom Thumb" is no other than the Son whom Eckhart describes as "small, but so puissant". So long as the material of folklore is transmitted, so long is the ground available on which the superstructure of full initiatory understanding can be built.

Let us now consider the "primitive mentality" that so many anthropologists have studied: the mentality, that is, which manifests itself in such normal types of society as we have been considering, and to which we have referred as "traditional". Two closely connected questions must first be disposed of. In the first place, is there such a thing as a "primitive" or "alogical" mentality distinct from that of civilised and scientific man? It has been taken for granted by the older "animists" that human nature is a constant, so that "if we were in the position of the primitives, our mind being what it is now, we should think and act as they do."¹⁴ On the other hand, for anthropologists and psychologists of the type of Lévy-Bruhl there can be recognized an almost specific distinction between the "primitive" mentality and "ours". The explanation of the possibility of disagreement in such a matter has much to do with the belief in progress, by which in fact all our conceptions of the history

¹⁴ G. Davy, "Psychologie des primitifs d'après Lévy-Bruhl," *Journ. de Psychologie normale et pathologique*, XXVII, 1931, p. 112.

of civilisation are distorted.¹⁵ It is too readily taken for-granted that "we" have progressed, and that any contemporary savage society in all respects fairly represents the so-called primitive mentality, and overlooked that many characteristics of this mentality can be studied as well at home as in any African jungle: the point of view of the Christian or Hindu, for example, is in many ways nearer to that of the "savage" than to that of the modern bourgeoisie. What real distinction of two mentalities can be made is, in fact, the distinction of a modern from a Mediæval or Oriental mentality: and this is not a specific distinction, but one at sickness from health.¹⁶ It has been said of Lévy-Bruhl that he is a past master in opening up what is to us "an almost inconceivable" world: as if there were none amongst us to whom the mentality reflected in our own immediate environment were not equally "inconceivable".

We shall consider, then the "primitive mentality" as described, very often quite accurately, by Lévy-Bruhl and other psychologist-anthropologists. It is characterised in the

¹⁵ In speaking of progress and decadence, we are of course referring to an intellectual and not a material progress or decadence: and mean by "intellect" by no means a mere knowledge of facts or even the deduction of statistical "laws" from such facts, but what has been defined as "the habit of first principles",—*intellectus vel spiritus*. It is with respect to the intellectual, or spiritual powers of humanity that we hold that, alike in savage and in civilized societies, a decadence is evident, and that the vestiges of a mentality operating normally on higher levels of reference than our own have been better preserved in folklore and in savage societies than in our middle class "cultures". Even an anthropologist such as Boas can say that it does not seem plausible to him that the hereditary mental faculty has been improved by civilization (*The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1922, p. 156).

¹⁶ Accordingly "instead of bringing the primitives to us to be explained, we ought to try to return to them in order to understand them" (G. Davy, *loc. cit.*). One can only explain what one is, not what one merely observes. To speak at all in "Primitive" terms, one must be accustomed to *think* in them.

first place by a "collective ideation";¹⁷ ideas are held in common, whereas in a civilised group, everyone entertains ideas of his own.¹⁸ Infinitely varied as it may be in detail, the folk literature, for example, has to do with the lives of heroes, all of whom, as Lord Raglan has shown in his book *The Hero*, meet with essentially the same adventures and exhibit the same qualities. It is not for one moment realised that a possession of ideas in common does not necessarily imply the "collective origination" of these ideas. It is admitted that what is true for the primitive mentality is unrelated to experience, *i.e.* to such "logical" experience as ours. Yet they are "true" to what the primitive "experiences". The criticism implied, for such it is, is exactly parallel to the art-historian's who criticises the primitive art as not being "true to nature"; and to that of the historian of literature, who demands from literature a psycho-analysis of individual character. The primitive was not interested in such trivialities, but thought in types. This, moreover, was his means of "education"; for the type can be imitated, whereas the individual can only be mimicked.

The next and most famous characteristic of the primitive mentality has been called "participation", or more specifically "mystical participation". A thing is not only what it

¹⁷ The anthropologist's "collective ideation" corresponds to the unanimism of traditional societies that has been discussed above; but with this important distinction that the anthropologist means to imply by his "collective ideation" not merely the common possession of ideas, but also the "collective origination" of these ideas: the anthropologist believing that there really are such things as popular creations are spontaneous inventions of the masses (and as M. René Guénon has remarked, "the connection of this point of view with the democratic prejudice is obvious").

¹⁸ In a normal society one no more "thinks for oneself" than one has a private arithmetic. In a proletarian culture one does not think at all, but only entertains a variety of prejudices, for the most part of journalistic and propaganda origin, though treasured as one's "own opinions". A traditional culture presumes an entertainment of ideas, in which a private property is impossible.

is visibly, but also what it represents. Natural or artificial objects are not for the primitive, as they can be for us, arbitrary "symbols" of some other and higher reality, but actual manifestations of this reality:¹⁹ the eagle or the lion, for example, is not so much a symbol or image of the Sun as it is the Sun in a likeness (the form being more important than the nature in which it may be manifested); and in the same way every house is the world in a likeness, and every altar situated at the centre of the earth; it is only because "we" are more interested in what things are than in what they mean, more interested in facts than in ideas, that this is "inconceivable" to us. Descent from a totem animal is not, then, what it appears to the anthropologist, a literal absurdity, but a descent from the Sun, the Progenitor and Prajāpati of all, in that form in which he revealed himself, whether in vision or in dream, to the founder of the clan. The same reasoning validates the Eucharistic meal; the Father-Progenitor is sacrificed and partaken of by his descendants, in the flesh of the sacred animal: "This is my body, take and eat."²⁰ So that as Lévy-Bruhl says of such symbols, "very often it is not their

¹⁹ Cf. "The lust of the goat is the bounty of God...When thou seest an Eagle, thou seest a portion of Genius" (William Blake).

²⁰ In the statement "In some cases we cannot easily tell whether the native thinks that he is in the actual presence of some (usually invisible) being, or that of a symbol" (Lévy-Bruhl, *L'expérience mystique...chez les primitifs*, 206). "We" can only refer to such profane mentalities as are intended by our authors when they speak of "civilised" or "emancipated" man; it would not be true for a learned Catholic or Hindu to say that "This peculiarity of the symbols, of the primitives creates a great difficulty for us", and one wonders why our authors are so much puzzled by the "savage", and not by the contemporary metaphysician. More truly, one does not wonder: it is because it is assumed that wisdom was born with us, and that the savage does not distinguish between appearance and reality; it is because we choose to describe the primitive religious cults as a "worship of nature",—we who are nature-worshippers indeed, and to whom the words of Plutarch are pre-eminently applicable, viz. that men have been so blinded by their powers of observation that they can no longer distinguish between Apollo and the Sun.

purpose to 'represent' their proto-type to the eye, but to facilitate a participation," and that "if it is their essential function to 'represent', in the full sense of the word, invisible beings or objects, and to make their presence effective, it follows that they are not necessarily reproductions or likenesses of these beings or objects".²¹ The purpose of primitive art being entirely different from the æsthetic or decorative intentions of the modern "artist" (for whom the ancient motifs survive only as meaningless "art forms") explains its abstract character. "We civilised men have lost the Paradise of the 'Soul of primitive imagery' (*Urbildseele*). We no longer live among the shapes which we had fashioned within: we have become mere spectators, reflecting them from without."²²

To have lost the art of thinking in images thus is precisely to have lost the proper linguistic of metaphysics and to have descended to the verbal logic of "philosophy". The truth is that the content of such an "abstract", or rather "principal", form as the Neolithic sun-wheel (in which *we* see only an evidence of the "worship of natural forces", or at most a "personification" of these forces), or that of the corresponding circle with centre and radii or rays, is so rich that it could only be fully expounded in many volumes, and embodies implications which can only with difficulty if at all be expressed in words: the very nature of primitive and folk art is the immediate proof of its essentially intellectual content. Nor does this only apply to the diagrammatic representations: there was actually nothing made for use that had not a meaning as well as an application: "The needs of the body and the soul are satisfied together."²³ The inventions are, in fact, the application of metaphysical principles to practical ends;²⁴

²¹ Lévy-Bruhl. *L'expérience mystique*, pp. 174, 180.

²² Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, p. 7.

²³ Schmidt, *loc. cit.* p. 167.

²⁴ Observe that an "invention" is a "finding", and that the Sanskrit *vid*, the root of *veda*, "science", means both to "know" and to "find". The art by which a thing is made is a knowledge rather than a feeling.

and this is in perfect agreement with the doctrine that refers all of the fundamental inventions to an ancestral culture hero (in the last analysis a descent of the Sun), that is to say to a primordial revelation, and makes of the practice of an art a sacred rite. In these applications, however utilitarian their purpose, there was no need whatever to sacrifice the clarity of the original significance of the symbolic form: on the contrary, the aptitude and beauty of the artefact at the same time express and depend upon the form that underlies it. We can see this very clearly, for example, in the case of such an ancient invention as that of the "safety pin", which is simply an adaptation of a still older invention, that of the straight pin or needle having at one end a head, ring or eye and at the other a point; a form that as a "pin" directly penetrates and fastens material together, and as a "needle" fastens them together by leaving behind it as its "trace" a thread that originates from its eye. In the safety-pin, the originally straight stem of the pin or needle is bent upon itself so that its point passes back again through the "eye" and is held there securely, at the same time that it fastens whatever material it has penetrated.²⁵

Whoever is acquainted with the technical language of initiatory symbolism (in the present case, the language of the "Lesser Mysteries" of the crafts) will recognize at once that the straight pin or needle is a symbol of generation, and the safety-pin a symbol of regeneration. The safety-pin is, moreover, the equivalent of the button which fastens things together, and is attached to them by means of a thread which passes through and again returns to its perforations, which correspond to that of the eye of the needle. The significance of the metal pin, and that of the thread that is left behind by the needle (whether or not secured to a button that corresponds to the eye of the needle) are the same: it is that of the "thread-spirit" (*sūtrātman*) by which the Sun connects all things to himself and fastens them; he is the primordial embroiderer

²⁵ It is noteworthy that the word "fibule" (fibula) in French surgical language means *suture*.

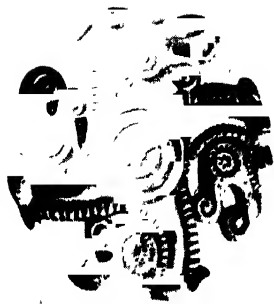
and tailor, by whom the tissue of the universe, of which our garments are an analogy, is woven on a living thread.²⁶

For the metaphysician it is inconceivable that forms such as this, which express a given doctrine with mathematical precision, could have been "invented" without a knowledge of their significance. The anthropologist, it is true, will believe that such meanings are merely "read into" the forms by the sophisticated symbolist (one might as well pretend that a mathematical formula could have been discovered by chance or luck). But that a safety-pin or button is meaningless, and merely a convenience for us, is simply the evidence of our profane ignorance and of the fact that such forms have been "more and more voided of content on their way down to us" (Andrae); the scholar of art is not "reading into" these intelligible forms an arbitrary meaning, but simply reading their meaning, for this is their "form" or "life", and in it present regardless of whether or not the individual artist of a given period, or we, have known it or not. In the present case the proof that the meaning of the safety-pin had been understood can be pointed to in the fact that the heads or eyes of prehistoric fibulæ are regularly decorated with a repertoire of distinctively solar symbols.²⁷

Inasmuch as the symbolic arts of the folk do not propose to tell us what things are like but, by their allusions, intend to refer to the ideas which are implied by these things, we may describe them as having an algebraic (rather than "abstract") quality, and in this respect as differing essentially from the veridical and realistic purposes of a profane and arithmetical art, of which the intentions are to tell us what things are like, to express the artist's personality and to evoke an emotional

²⁶ "The Sun is the fastening (*āsañjanam*, one might even say "button") to whom these worlds are linked by means of the quarters . . . He strings these worlds to himself by a thread; the thread is the Gale of the Spirit" (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. i. 7. 17 and VI. ii. 7. 3. 10). We still speak of living substances as "tissues".

²⁷ See Chr. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, Kobenhavn, 1926. The ornamentation of these fibulæ forms a veritable encyclopædia of solar symbols.



Sarmatian Sun-symbol, British Museum



Horse and Donkey: Folk and Bourgeois Art

reaction. We do not call the folk-art "abstract", because the forms are not arrived at by a process of omission; nor do we call it "conventional", since its forms have not been arrived at by experiment and agreement; nor do we call it "decorative" in the modern sense of the word, since it is not meaningless;²⁸ it is properly speaking a principia art, and rather a supernatural than a naturalistic art. The nature of the folk-art is, then, itself the sufficient demonstration of its intellectuality: it is, indeed, a "divine inheritance". We illustrate on the accompanying Plate two examples of folk-art and one of "bourgeois" art, to make it entirely clear that in the former the "art has to do with cognition" (St. Thomas Aquinas) and that in the latter the outstanding feature of the art is its informality, or in other words unintelligibility and ugliness. Fig. 1 is a Sarmatian "ornament", probably a horse trapping:²⁹ there is a central six-spoked wheel, around which revolve four equine protomas, also wheel-marked, forming a whorl or *svastika*; and it is abundantly clear that this is a representation of the divine "procession", the revolution of the Supernal Sun in a four-horsed and four-wheeled chariot; a representation such as this has a content evidently far exceeding that of later pictorial representations of an anthropomorphic "Sun", or human athlete, riding in a chariot actually drawn by four prancing horses. The two other illustrations are of modern Indian wooden toys: in the first case we recognize a metaphysical and formal art, and a type that can be paralleled throughout a millennial tradition, while in the latter the effect of European influence has led the artist, not to "imitate nature in her manner of operation",

²⁸ All the words that now mean "ornamented", or "ornament" in the sense of something added to the thing itself solely to make it attractive to the eye originally meant a due furnishing of the object with what its functions demand. Skr. *alamkṛta*, for example, is quite literally "satisfied", or "completed", and did not originally imply any useless addition to something already "put together", *samākṛta*. See my "Ornament", *Art Bulletin*, xxi, 1939.

²⁹ Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

but simply to imitate nature in her appearances ; if either of these kinds of art can be called " naive ", it is certainly not the traditional art of the folk ! The contrast of the two, in fact, admirably illustrates Plutarch's ridicule of those who have been so far blinded by their powers of observation that they can no longer distinguish Apollo from the Sun " : a remark that would apply to a majority of " scientific " students of " the primitive mentality ", whose method of approach, as remarked by Sri Krishna Prem, is " incurably external ".

The characteristic pronouncements of anthropologists on the " primitive mentality ", of which a few may be cited, are often very remarkable, and may be said to represent not what the writers have intended, the description of an inferior type of consciousness and experience, but one intrinsically superior to that of the " civilised " man, and approximating to that which we are accustomed to think of as primordial. For example, " The primitive mind experienced life as a whole Art was not for the delectation of the senses. " ³⁰ Dr. Mecalister actually compares what he calls the " Ascent of Man " to Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* ; not realising that the poem is the description of a descent or materialisation of consciousness. ³¹ Schmidt remarks that " In ' heathenish ' popular customs, in the ' superstitions ' of our folk, the spiritual adventures of prehistoric times, the imagery of primitive insight, are living still ; a *divine inheritance* Originally every type of soul and mind corresponds to the physiological organism proper to it The world is conceived as being partner with the living being, which is unconscious of its individuality ; as being an essential portion of the Ego ;

³⁰ E. Baldwin Smith, *Egyptian Architecture*, 1938, p. 27.

³¹ Preface to R. R. Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, 1936. It should be observed that the customary virtual identification of the " childhood of humanity " with the childhood of the individual, that of the mind of Crô-Magnon man with his " fully developed forehead " (Schmidt, p. 209) with that of the still sub-human child, is entirely fallacious. That the child can in certain respects be used as an adequate symbol of the primordial state in the sense that " of such is the Kingdom of Heaven "—is quite another matter.

and it is represented as being affected by human exertion and sufferings....Nature-man lives his life in images. He grasps it in his conception as a series of realities. His visions are therefore not only real; they form his objective insight into a higher world....The talent, in the man of understanding, is only obstructed, more or less. Artistic natures, poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, seers, who see God face to face, remain all their lives eidetically rooted in their creations. In them there lives the folk-soul of dissolving images in their most perfect creative form....Natural man, to whom vision and thought are identical....The man of magic....is still standing in a present world which includes the whole of primeval time....(On the other hand) the emancipated man, vehicle of a soul....differentiates the original magical somatopsychic unity....Outward and Inward, World and Ego, become a duality in the consciousness."³²

If it is difficult for us to understand the primitive belief in the efficacy of symbolic rites, it is largely because of our limited knowledge of the prolongations of the personality, which forces us to think in terms of a purely physical causality. We overlook that while we may believe that the anticipatory

³² R. R. Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, pp. 1, 13, 89, 126, 212 f. The final sentence contrasts most poignantly with Plato's famous prayer, "Grant to me that I may become beautiful within, and that my outward and my inner man may be in fond accord" (*Phaedrus*, 278 C.), cf. *Bhagavad Gītā*, VI. 5-6, on friendship or enmity between the empirical and the essential "self". Schmidt is referring, of course, to the clear distinction of subject from object which ordinary "knowledge" presupposes; it is precisely this kind of "knowing" that is, from the standpoint of traditional metaphysics, an *ignorance*, and morally, an "original sin" of which the wages are death (Genesis, III).

The remarkable expressions of Schmidt (the italics are mine) are tantamount to the definition of the modern, civilised "man of understanding" as an atrophied personality, out of touch with his environment. That he also envisages an *ascent* of man can only mean that he regards the "seers, who see God face to face" and in whom the folk-soul survives, as belonging to a strictly atavistic and inferior type of humanity, and thinks of the "divine inheritance" as something to be gotten rid of as soon as possible.

rite has no physical effect in the desired direction, the rite itself is the formal expression of a will directed to this end, and that this will, released by the performance of the rite, is also an effective force, by which the environment in its totality must be to some extent affected. In any case, the preliminary rite of "mimetic magic" is an enactment of the "formal cause" of the subsequent operation, whether it be the art of agriculture or that of war that is in question, and the artist has a right to expect that the actual operation, if carried out on this plan, will be successful. What seems strange to us, however, is that for the primitive mentality, the rite is a "prefiguration", not merely in the sense of a pattern of action to be followed, but in that of an anticipation in which the future becomes a virtually already existent reality, so that "the primitives feel that the future event is actually present": the action of the force released is immediate, "and if its effects appear after some time it is nevertheless imagined—or, rather, in their case, felt—as immediately produced."³³ M. Lévy-Bruhl goes on to point out very justly that all this implies a conception of time and space that is not in our sense of the words "rational": one in which both past and future, cause and effect, coincide in a present experience. If we choose to call this an "unpractical" position, we must not forget that at the same time "The primitives constantly make use of the real connection between cause and effect....they often display an ingenuity that implies a very accurate observation of this connection."³⁴

Now it is impossible not to be struck by the fact that it is precisely a state of being in which "everywhere and every when is focussed" (Dante), that is for the theologian and the metaphysician "divine": that at this level of reference "all states of being, seen in principle are simultaneous in the eternal now", and that "he who cannot escape from the standpoint of temporal succession so as to see all things in their simultaneity is incapable of the least conception of the metaphysical

³³ Lévy-Bruhl, *La mentalité primitive*, pp. 290 and 88.

³⁴ Lévy-Bruhl, *Ibid.* p. 92.

order".³⁵ We say that what seems to "us" irrational in the life of "savages", and may be unpractical, since it unfits them to compete with our material force, represents the vestiges of a primordial state of metaphysical understanding: and that if the savage himself is, generally speaking, no longer a comprehensor of his own "divine inheritance", this ignorance on his part is no more shameful than ours who do not recognize the intrinsic nature of his "lore", and understand it no better than himself. We do not say that the modern savage exemplifies the "primordial state" itself, but that his beliefs, and the whole content of folklore, bear witness to such a state. We say that the truly primitive man—"before the Fall"—was, not by any means a philosopher or scientist but, by all means, a metaphysical being, in full possession of the *forma humanitatis* (as we are only very partially); that, in the excellent phrase of Baldwin Smith, he "experienced life as a whole".

Nor can it be said that the "primitives" are always unconscious of the sources of their heritage. For example, "Dr. Malinowski has insisted on the fact that, in the native Trobriand way of thinking, magic, agrarian or other, is not a human invention. From time immemorial, it forms a part of the inheritance which is handed down from generation to generation. Like the social institutions proper, it was created in the age of the myth, by the heroes who were the founders of civilisation. Hence its sacred character. Hence also its efficacy."³⁶ Far more rarely, an archaeologist such as Andrae has the courage to express as his own belief that "When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest" and to affirm that "The sensible forms (of art), in which there was at first a polar balance of physical and metaphysical, have been more and more voided of content on their way down to us."³⁷

³⁵ René Guénon, *La métaphysique orientale*, pp. 15, 17.

³⁶ Lévy-Bruhl, *L'expérience mystique*, 295.

³⁷ Andrae, W. *Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol?* 1938, Schlusswort.

The mention of the Trobriand Islanders above leads us to refer to one more type of what appears at first sight to imply an almost incredible want of observation. The Trobriand Islander, and some Australians, are reported to be unaware of the causal connection between sexual intercourse and procreation; they are said to believe that spirit-children enter the wombs of women on appropriate occasions, and that sexual intercourse alone is not a determinant of birth.³⁸ It is, indeed, implausible that the natives, "whose aboriginal endowment is quite as good as any European's, if not better"³⁹ are unaware of any connection whatever between sexual intercourse and pregnancy. On the other hand, it is clear that their interest is not in what may be called the mediate causes of pregnancy, but in its first cause.⁴⁰ Their position is essentially identical with that of the universal tradition, for which reproduction depends on the activating presence of what the mythologist calls a "fertility spirit" or "progenitive deity", and is in fact the Divine Eros, the Indian Kāmadeva and Gandharva, the spiritual Sun of *R̥g Veda*, I. 115. 1, the life of all and source of all being; it is upon *his* "connection with the field"⁴¹ that life is transmitted, as it is by the human

³⁸ M. F. Ashley-Montagu, *Coming into being among the Australian Aborigines*; B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, and *The Trobriand Islands*.

³⁹ Ashley-Montagu, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ "God, the master of all generative power" (Hermes, *Asclepius*, III. 21); "The power of generation belongs to God" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* I. II. 5). In Gaelic incantations (see *Carmina Gadelica*, *loc. cit. infra*, Vol. II). Christ and the Virgin Mary are continually invoked as progenitive deities, givers of increase in cattle or man; the phrasings are almost verbally identical with those of *R̥g Veda*, VII. 102. 2, "Who puts the seed in the plants, the cows, the mares, the women, Parjanya".

⁴¹ "The sun is the *ātman* of all that is motionless or mobile"; *R̥g Veda*, I. 115. 1. "Whatsoever living thing is of Knower born, whether motionless or mobile know that it is from the union of the Knower of the Field with the Field itself"; *Bhagavad Gītā*, XIII. 26. "It is inasmuch as He 'kisses' (breathes on) all his children that each can say 'I am'" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 3. 2. 12); "Light is the

“sower” that the elements of the corporeal vehicle of life are planted in his “field”. So that as the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 265–66 expresses it, three things are required for conception, viz. conjunction of father and mother, the mother’s period, and the presence⁴² of the Gandharva : of which the two first may be called dispositive and the third an essential cause. We see now the meaning of the words of *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 9. 28, “Say not ‘From semen’, but ‘From what is alive (in the semen)’”: “It is the Provident Spirit (*prajñātman*, i.e. the Sun) that grasps and erects the flesh” (*Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, III. 3); “The power of the soul, which is in the semen through the spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body” (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. 32. 11). Thus, in believing with Schiller that “It is the Spirit that fashions the body for itself” (*Wallenstein*, III. 13) the “primitive” is in agreement with an unanimous tradition and with Christian doctrine: *Spiritus est qui vivificat: caro non prodest quicquam* (“it is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing”, John VI. 63).⁴³ It would be hard to

progenitive power” (*Taittirīya Samhitā*, VII. 1. 1. 1); “The Sun’s rays are his children” (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, II. 9). In connection with the “Knower of the Field” it may be remarked that his “conjunction” (*saṃyoga*) with the “Field” is not merely cognitive but erotic: Skr. *jñā* in its sense of “to recognize as one’s own”, or “possess” corresponding to Latin *gnoscere* and English “know” in the Biblical expression “Jacob knew his wife”. Now the solar manner of “knowing” (in any sense) is by means of his rays, which are emitted by the “Eye”; and hence in the ritual, in which the priest represents Prajāpati (the Sun as Father-Progenitor), he formally “looks at” the sacrificer’s wife, “for insemination”; a metaphysical rite which the anthropologist would call a piece of “fertility-magic”. See also my “Sunkiss” in *JAOS*. 60, 1940.

⁴² For “to be present” the Pāli equivalent of Skr. *praty-upasthā*, “to stand upon” is employed: and this is the traditional expression, in accordance with which the Spirit is said to “take its stand upon” the bodily vehicle, which is accordingly referred as its *adhiṣṭānam*, or “standing ground” or “platform”.

⁴³ That St. John is speaking with reference to a regeneration by no means excludes their application to any generation: for as

imagine a popular *origin* of such a doctrine, or that it could have been propounded in the beginning without a full understanding of its significance!

Aristotle's doctrine that "Man and the Sun generate man" (*Phys.*, II. 2),⁴⁴ that of JUB., 111. 14. 10 and that of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, may be said to combine the scientific and the metaphysical theories of the origin of life: and this very well illustrates the fact that the scientific and metaphysical points of view are by no means contradictory, but rather complementary. The weakness of the scientific position is, not that the empirical facts are devoid of interest or utility, but that these facts are thought of as a refutation of the intellectual doctrine. Actually, our discovery of chromosomes does not in any way account for the origin of life, but only tells us more about its mechanism. The metaphysician may, like the primitive, be incurious about the scientific facts: he cannot be disconcerted by them, for they can at the most show that God moves "in an even more mysterious way than we had hitherto supposed".

We have touched upon only a very few of the "motifs" of folklore. The main point that we have wished to bring out is that the whole body of these motifs represents a consistent tissue of interrelated intellectual doctrines belonging to a primordial wisdom rather than to a primitive science: and that for this wisdom it would be almost impossible to conceive

exegetical theory insists, the literal sense of the words of scripture is also always true, and is the vehicle of the transcendental significance.

⁴⁴ To which correspond the words and those of a Gaelic incantation, "From the bosom of the God of life and, the courses together" (Carmichael, A., *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, p. 119). In Egypt, similarly, "Life was an emanation of progenitive light and the creative word . . . The Sun, Râ, was the creator above all others, and the means of his creative power were his eye, the 'Eye of Horus', and his voice, the 'voice of heaven, the bolt'": the Pharaoh was regarded as having been born, quite literally of the Sun and a human mother (Moret, *Du caractère religieuse de la royauté pharaonique*, Paris, 1902, pp. 40, 41).

a popular, or even in any ordinary sense of the words a human origin. The life of the popular wisdom extends backward to a point at which it becomes indistinguishable from the primordial tradition itself, the traces of which we are more familiar with in the sacerdotal and royal arts: and it is in this sense, and by no means with any "democratic" implications, that the lore of the people, expressed in their culture, is really the word of God,—*Vox populi vox Dei*.

THE BOYIS OF BARODA

BY DR. S. T. MOSES, M.A., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I.

Introduction

AMONG the fishermen of the Baroda State, in whose advancement, I, as the Director of Fisheries, was interested, those of the Capital City and my Headquarters were naturally the first to come into close contact. The city being somewhat inland, has among its inhabitants only freshwater fishermen the Boyis and this paper¹ embodies the results of observations, etc., made during the two years since I began organising the Fisheries Department of the State. Thirty individuals had their cranial, etc., measurements taken.

The Caste and its Origin

The Boyis who are, like some fishing classes in South India, also, as a caste, palanquin-bearers, claim to be migrants from the north. Their legendary ancestor is Nathu Baba and the story explains their connection with fish and palanquins. Long long ago, when floods visited the earth and destroyed all mankind, a large fish saved one Nathu Baba by asking him 'to get inside'. There was water and nothing but water all over the earth and all men and beasts were dead. When at last water subsided, the fish bade Nathu to come out. He did so and climbed up a tree. Under this very tree Pārvathī and Shunker came to rest after their excursion, part of their daily programme. Shunker was hungry and so Pārvathī cooked the food and served it on two plates. No sooner did she do this than the plates which were only two became three ! Amazed she collected all the food and served it again on two plates. But again there were three plates. Again she collected the food and served it on two plates but the miracle happened again. So Pārvathī told Shunker, 'I am sure the

¹ For some details recorded here I am indebted to my Assistant Mr. D. S. Dighe, B.A., B.Sc.

human race has not been wiped out. There is one man living somewhere and not very far'. They then easily traced Nathu Baba sitting above and invited him to come down and share the food. The meal was over and they resumed their walk. Pārvathī was, however, tired and so it was necessary to carry her. And as one man—Nathu—was not enough to do so, she made another of earth and breathed life into him. The two men then were able to carry Pārvathī in a hammock-like basket hung from a pole slung across their shoulders. The walk was then resumed. The palanquin-bearers walked so fast that Shunker was left far behind. So Pārvathī used her magic and the two bearers found it necessary to stop after every few steps and shift the pole from one shoulder to the other. This gave Shunker time to catch the party up.

The Caste and its Divisions

The Boyis claim to be Rajputs from somewhere in the region of Oude near Allahabad and Lucknow. Names of places like Barabanki and Nawabganj are still remembered. There are seven divisions among the caste, *viz.* Bakaraia, Bathma, Garidia, Gudia, Mali, Meta and Kahar. The Boyis of Baroda City are all Kahars. Mali, Gudia and Kahar have *Rotli vivahar* but not *Betti vivahar*, *i.e.* interdine but do not intermarry. The others neither eat together nor intermarry. The Boyis will never take food from any other caste, not even from Brahmins.

Occupations

PALANQUIN-BEARING

The original occupations of the Boyis were Fishing and Palanquin-bearing. As palanquin-bearers they have maintained the record early set up by their ancestor and his colleague by being able to go at a good trot of nearly four miles an hour. As they proceed, they ease their burden by a semi-musical chant which takes the form of a warning and reply. It does serve an useful purpose in that the men behind, who follow as it were blind, are warned what to expect, a stone, ditch or any other obstacle. The men in front sing *Chora He*—this

is a warning that there is dung lying on the path—or *Toker Jamma He* if there is a slight mound or some such obstacle, and the men behind reply equally musically *Ja Bache Ja* to assure those in front that their warning has been noted. Today palanquins have almost ceased to exist. *Palanquinity* which yielded to *gigmanity* in later days has done so in modern days to *cirmanity*. Palanquins are now used only by members of the royal household or other high caste ladies, mostly *purdah*; they are in demand in processions, whether on marriage occasions or in temples, to carry the bridal pair or the gods and goddesses respectively.

FISHING

The Boyis carry on fishing in rivers and ponds, wherever fishing is not objectionable. The influence and power of the Jains (Shravaks) is such that it prevents these people from carrying on their traditional occupation. Inducements to fishermen by money payments to give up fishing are generally resorted to. Even where fishing rights are leased out, it appears that the lease may be taken but no actual fishing done. If, however, the lease is taken by fishermen themselves, they are bought off, and their inactivity is procured. Thus these Boyis find that the general atmosphere is not conducive to their following the ancestral calling.

Other Occupations

VEGETABLE-HAWKING, WATER-CARRYING, PRIVATE SERVICE, ETC.

Thus the Boyis have been forced by circumstances to take to other vocations and are now porters, vegetable hawkers *bidi* makers, household servants, water-carriers (*Bhisthis*), etc. Some have entered public service as watchmen, peons and in the military. They grow pond chestnuts and have also taken to agriculture.

Water-Chestnut Cultivation

The cultivation of the water-chestnut (*Shingoda*) needs patience for often the plants (*Trappa bicornis*) are attacked

by parasites mostly vermicular. The Boyi-private ponds, e.g. Mahjan and Mahmud tanks in Baroda, are taken on lease for fishing and *shingoda* cultivation—swims along resting on a float made of two empty kerosene tins tied together by a log—or the craft may consist of a pair of inverted earthen pots—and diligently clears the plants of the worms, after examining each and every leaf. The worms are crushed to death between his forefinger and thumb.

Fishing Gear

The Boyis fish in small streams, rivers, ponds, etc. using cast nets, stake nets, wall nets and drag nets. The cast nets or *Hath* (hand) *Jal* (net) are of two kinds, one small-meshed for Chela the silvery fish, named 'Saura Jal' and the larger-meshed 'Chogia' or 'Bummar Jal'. The 'Chanta' or 'Maha Jal' is a wall net fixed across a stream and strengthened at intervals by stakes which need not necessarily be driven into the bottom of the river-bed but are fastened more by being tightened by a couple of ropes at either end. The floats used are empty kerosene or other tins and dried fruits (*Chorumla*). A similar but smaller meshed wall net 'Pandi' is used as a drag net hauled by ropes against the stream. The 'Chafan' is a similar drag net but is distinguished by the presence of a bag in the middle.

Night Fishing with Light Lures

Night fishing is more interesting, two kinds of nets, besides the cast net, being in use. Fishes are lured by light at nights usually during and shortly after the monsoons. The Boyis do night fishing in pairs, wading in pools and still places where the flood waters have overflowed the regular river banks. As they move along, one of them holds a whisp of burning hay near the surface of the water and while the fishes are drawn by the light to the top, his partner entraps them in the net. The ends of the Jamdanet which carries a piece of bamboo passing through both ends are held by the fishers each holding one end and as they move along, the pool is dredged. Often in the case of large fish like 'Raus' a square net, the 'Kandia'

is thrown over the fish as it shows itself on the water and the fish is then smartly beaten with a stick.

Boyis and Crocodiles

The proverb about the crocodile *Dhariyama rahevu ne Magar̃ sathe Ver* the Gujarathi equivalent of 'It is hard to live in Rome and quarrel with the Pope' does not seem to apply to the Boyis who are so at home in the water that crocodiles, it is said, from sheer fear of them, often swim across a pond or a river to get out of their way.

Fishing Ceremonies

The Boyis are religious for they always begin the fishing season with a ceremonial worship of the Matha to whom a goat is sacrificed. This ceremony is also done before taking the nets into the water. Liquor is offered both to the goddess and to the stream or pond where fishing is done.

Pārvathi and Other Deities

Pārvathi is the chief deity the minor ones being the female Purakī and the males Nirākār, Kardeo and Bāgha. The last is apparently a garden deity. Every house has an oil or ghee lamp kept burning which represents its tutelary deity. Purakī is the only one among the deities, minor, to be represented in a picture available in the market. Pārvathi or Kalkā figures in almost all their religious functions. The most important day is the '*Ganga Satam*' seventh Hindu day after the Holi. Kalkā figures in cases of illness, when certain promises to her are made if a cure is granted and when the illness is over the promises are strictly made good. Usually liquor is offered to the goddess and sometimes a blood sacrifice generally of goat. The cymbals are clanged all the time right through the night. The other chief religious days are Nāg Pancami and Seetala Devī's day. The Boyis have a temple behind Lal-bagh, a temple dedicated to Sindhavī Mātā. Another Mātā the Meldhī is often prayed to in certain houses as her help is required to exorcise evil spirits and the Mātā is generally the image of a deceased female of the family.

Worship of the Legendary Ancestor, Nathu Baba

The ancestor Nathu Baba is also worshipped but only once in three years. The Boyis of the Sarkari Karkhana worship him annually. Many houses have Nathu's picture set in a frame. He is worshipped on the eleventh day of the Hindu month *Āśad*. A male goat is offered to him in the ritual of worship. Boyis while still following their ancestral forms of worship, have come under modern and city influences and some of them are Rāmanandi or Vallabāchāri.

Their Priests

The priests employed by the Boyis are upcountry Audich or Modh Brahmins (Pandits). The scheduled fee for officiating at marriages is Rupees two to four. There are at present three or four families of such Brahmins in the City of Baroda, Kashiwala Pandit, Ramotar and Guruprasad.

Their Marriage Customs

The marriageable age among the Boyis seems to be for boys fifteen to twenty and girls ten to fifteen. Often however the economic factor does keep a man unmarried, e.g. a fieldman in our department, though past twenty is still free and his recent promotion, it is said will end his bachelorship! The marriage settlement is at first a verbal agreement between the fathers of the boy and the girl. In this community, unlike many others, it is the girl's party who hold the whip hand. A day is then fixed for the *pucca* settlement, when the boy's party goes with the necessary articles and liquor to the girl's home. It is the bride's father who dictates the magnitude of the liquor and food as well. Often the liquor demanded is as much as four maunds in weight! On this occasion it is not essential that the boy should be present. Generally he does not come to the girl's house now. The ornaments brought which usually are a necklace *Hasali* of silver (or gold if so dictated), an armlet *Kade* of gold, and an anklet *Chapli* of silver, as soon as presented are worn by the girl at once. Then comes the exchange of bowls. The

boy's father puts two pice in the bowl while the bride's father puts in the bowl of the groom's father anything from Rupees ten to fifteen. The girl's relations also put Rupees two or three into the bowl of the bridegroom's father. Finally drinks are served. On this occasion no Brahmin priest is present. After a while, the groom's father goes to the bride's house with the Brahmin and the marriage day is fixed. On the morning of the marriage day the groom's party goes to the bride's house and stays there. Feasting and drinking are the order of the day with continuous cymbal clanging. At night the marriage takes place, the Brahmin directing the ceremony. The bride and the groom are seated before a fire, a knot is tied of their garments and they are taken round the fire seven times. Grass bands are tied round their wrists. Then goes on *Bhajan*, chanting or singing, when the drinks go round. Next evening the bridegroom returns to his house with his wife. Her party accompanies her; they bring money with them and pay if asked to beak bead and share a drink in the bridegroom's house. A marriage costs a poor man as much as Rupees three hundred and one better off Rupees eight hundred.

Polygamy and Widow Remarriage

A man can marry any number of times and several Boyis have two wives. Widow remarriage is allowed. The children and the property of a man who dies are taken charge of by his brother, the widow is left out. In the case of a widow marriage it is generally believed that if the husband is a bachelor the union is bound to result in destitution.

Divorce

Divorce is said to be easy though it can take place only by common consent and after sanction of the *Panca*. The *Panca* meets and hears the reasons from both the parties and then declares its decision which is final. A man thus released can marry, i.e. have the privilege of a religious and regular marriage ceremony later but the poor woman cannot do so. She can have recourse only to '*Natra*' where the

Panca need not ratify the agreement to which the husbands, old and new, are parties and the woman goes to live with the man she likes. In case of divorce the children are in the custody of the father. If they are very much in infancy the mother keeps them to be handed over later on to the father. The *Panca* sees that the condition is observed by the woman later.

Child-Birth and Ceremonies

When a child is born a Brahmin is called and he fixes the day for *Surya Darsan* (seeing the sun) usually the twelfth day. The Brahmin gives the child its name on the very first day and the name may be anything he chooses to give and is left to his imagination. The people, however, give the child the name they like and it is by this the child is known all its life. Usually the child takes his grandfather's name as his surname. On the twelfth day the *Surya Darsan* takes place; the mother comes out with the babe in her arms and sees the sun while the Brahmin pronounces his chants, etc. Tonsure takes place when the baby is six months' old or over. Talismans, square metals or tubelets with charms and mystic writings, strung through a string hung round the neck of the child are believed to protect the child from sickness or cure a sick child. Long after they pass the young stage, children continue to wear these. One safeguard against the evil eye is the *bajar battu* the efficacy of which depends on its being placed for some time in a bear's mouth. After delivery the mother is impure for fifteen to thirty days after which she goes about attending to her daily duties.

Funeral Customs

The funeral is generally cremation for the rich and burial for the poor. The burial grounds are near the Bechraji temple in Baroda City. No Brahmin is called; in fact no outsider is allowed. The body is tied to two poles and taken to the ground. The carriers generally say *Rām Rām Sathya*. When the material for the fire is piled up, the fire on the dried grass is taken seven times round the pile which is then set

fire to. Even in the case of burial, fire is used. The corpse is lowered into the pit and a little bit of dried grass afire and some earth (mud) are thrown on the corpse and the pit is filled up. All who attend the funeral bathe in the river before returning to the house of the deceased, each with one or two *Nim* leaves. They then assemble at the deceased's house and chew the leaves before departing to their homes. On the *Teja* day usually the third day the party again assemble and proceed to the burial grounds with milk, water, sweets and jowar balls. These articles are spread around the mound on which milk is sprinkled. The party sit there for a while and then go to the river. Then in cupped hands water is held, sesame is thrown in and the whole lot is dropped into the stream. This is done thrice. Then they bring back a glass-full of water and pour it on a *Nim* tree on the way. On the twelfth day the people assemble at the deceased's house and are given a meal by the deceased's people. No sweets are allowed, the menu consisting of dal, rice, vegetables, wheat barota, etc. On the next day, the thirteenth, sweetened milk and rice, puri and bajia, etc., are eaten. A funeral costs Rupees one hundred or even more.

Inheritance

The community is patrilineal. The son stays with the father even after marriage. The property descends in the patrilineal line. Sons have equal share there being no primogeniture. Failing sons, the property goes to the nearest relation in the patrilineal line. But if the daughters are minor and unwed then the property can be handed over to the cousin only if he promises that he would protect them and have them wedded when they reach their proper age. This is carefully watched by the *Panca*.

Communal Administration, Patel and *Panca*

The ancient administrative machinery of the community is fast losing its power and influence, and people do resort to courts now. The explanation is the split in the habitation, the Boyis of Baroda living scattered in so many localities.

This has naturally been followed by a division in the loyalties. The Head of the community is the Patel. He is elected by the *Panca* and holds office during his lifetime. He might resign or be deposed but this does not usually happen. The present Patel is Bhariav Dwaraka. The Patel decides disputes brought to him and his decision is final. His orders regarding social ostracism of an offender are rigidly obeyed by the members. When the issue is important the Patel calls for a meeting of the *Panca* an elected body comprising all the elderly men of the community. The summons are conveyed by the barber who goes from house to house. He collects from every member a Rupee for *Suka Tambaccu* (dry tobacco) which he remits to the Patel. Out of this rupee the barber is entitled for four to five annas. The present holder of the office is Baba Rao. At the meeting there is no ballot nor show of hands but the Patel merely senses the opinion of the House.

Habitations

The Boyis of Baroda live in six localities in the City if we exclude the Sadar Bazaar, Baroda Residency, where three families live. The places are Yakutpura, Panidarwaza, Nawabpura, Babajipura, Genda nala and Dandia Bazaar near Kakasaheb Paga. The houses which are mostly built on hired land are mostly huts with mud walls and thatched roofs. Some however live in houses with walls of brick and mortar and tiled roofs. When a house or even a hut is built a ceremony '*Bas Puja*' (Bamboo worship) takes place when the Brahmin reads the '*Satyanarayana Pūja*'. In that ancient work is recorded, among others, the fate of those who were negligent about such worship and so all do respectfully listen to the Brahmin as he reads it. After the ceremony meals and drinks are served.

Food

The staple diet is jowar and bajra though rice and wheat are not uncommon. Dal, vegetables, fish, prawns, crabs, mutton, all these find a place in the menu. Beef is completely taboo as also fowl and eggs. Tortoise flesh and pork are eaten

by some. Crocodile flesh is not eaten but the crocodile is hunted and opened for the sake of its intestinal or stomachic concretion the bezoar which is very highly valued in medicine.

Games

As a class, the Boyis are fond of wrestling and gymnastics. Near Dandia Bazaar is an *Akhāda* or gymnasium with a wrestling arena run by an elder of the community who is himself a famous wrestler. The settlement of the community in Baroda City is said to have been at the instance of Mahārājah Kanderao Gackwar (1856-70) who was very much interested in athletics and was himself a wrestler of no mean ability. Old people remember how in their childhood they saw or heard about their fathers' wrestling bouts with the Mahārājah. In spite of their fondness for these manly activities, the Boyis are quarrelsome to a degree and once they start wrangling and swearing, they keep on for hours on end. They are also gamblers playing *Jugar*.

Appearance and Dress

Though usually dark in complexion and swarthy looking, they are attractive in being strongly built. The women are equally well-built and the sale of fish is entirely in their hands. Men shave off a very large area of the head leaving a very small tuft, in fact a few wisps of hair. They wear a *dhotar* or waistcloth reaching lower than the knee or a pair of trousers, a waistcoat like jacket and a turban or cloth worn round the head or a cap. The women wear a petticoat, a bodice and a sari which is thrown over the head. The ornaments of women are usually silver or brass wristlets, lac bracelets, silver or brass anklets and silver or gold necklaces.

Height Measurements

The heights of thirty Bhois taken are as follows:—
 1:5' 10", 3:5' 9", 1:5' 8.75", 2:5' 6.5", 1:5' 6.25", 2:5' 6",
 1:5' 5.75", 1:5' 5.5", 1:5' 5.25", 1:5' 5", 2:5' 4.75", 1:5'
 4.5", 1:5' 4", 1:5' 3.5", 2:5' 3.25", 3:5' 3", 1:5' 2.75",
 1:5' 2.5", 1:5' 1.5", 1:5' 0.75", 1:5' .5" and 1:5'.25".

Cranial and Nasal Measurements

The cranial indices of the thirty men are as follows:—
1:96·9, 1:92·9, 1:87·2, 1:84·1, 1:82·7, 1:80·8, 1:80·2,
1:79·8, 1:79·7, 1:79·5, 2:79·4, 1:79·2, 2:78·3, 1:78·4,
2:77·5, 1:77·3, 1:76·9, 1:76·7, 1:76·5, 1:76·2, 1:75·9,
1:75·6, 1:75·4, 1:74·7, 1:73·5, 1:72·9, and 1:72. The
nasal indices are as follows:—1:91·4, 1:85·1, 1:84·3,
1:83·6, 1:83·3, 1:83, 1:82·9, 1:82·6, 1:82, 2:81·6,
1:81·2, 2:80·3, 1:80, 1:79·2, 1:78·5, 1:77·1, 1:76·9,
2:75, 1:74·5, 1:74, 1:73·2, 1:72·7, 1:72·4, 1:70·1
1:68·9, 1:67·2 and 1:65·5.

THE LEGEND OF PRAHLĀDA

BY DR. MOHAN SINGH, PH.D., D.LITT.

The Historical Prahāda

WHEN all the accretions are removed, the story of Prahāda would appear as under :

There was a tribe of non-Āryans who were ruled by a non-Āryan king named Kaśipu. He may have been called Hiranya-kaśipu for he had amassed much wealth, and conquered very large territories ; or *Hiranya* was the title of the family or *gōtra* ; or he was the ruler of the city of fire or wealth called Hiranyapura. A *brāhmaṇa* family was attached to the royal household and held charge of instructing the royal male offsprings in the art of government. There were other *brāhmaṇas* in the employ of the court who were powerful magicians and wizards. The king and the *brāhmaṇas* were great believers in *tapas* or austerities, which helped to attain boons. The royal teacher was Śukra-Usana, a *Bhārgava*, whose two sons Sanda and Marka were in charge of Prahāda. Many other non-Āryan tribes, as also many Āryan tribes or rulers, owned the suzerainty of Hiranyakaśipu. The Āryans were not pleased with him for he did not acknowledge their gods ; he had his own deity . Prahāda may not have been a son or the son of Hiranyakaśipu, but another famed *daitya* king.

His Āryan subjects may have been persecuted by him. He, the wise and wealthy ruler of a wide territory into which the Āryans had but recently come, was killed in his fight with a lion. His death was the cause of great rejoicing among the Āryan population who interpreted his end as having been accomplished by their own god, *Hari*, which means a lion. Hiranyakaśipu's successor, direct or not, was Prahāda who as a prince had shown greater tolerance for the Āryans. Him the Āryans liked and praised. He also ruled for a long time. He was the model of behaviour ; a wise and just king, who was fearless, who spoke the truth and who bore adversity with

glowing stoicism. The Āryans thrived under his rule, though he had his battles with the Āryan leaders. He probably lived and died in the days when non-Āryan kingdoms flourished in India. His own capital is located in *Mūlasthāna*, modern Multan, which then was situated on the bank of a river. We can reasonably call Prahlāda the first non-Āryan teacher from whom even the Brāhmaṇa teachers could learn a good deal. His stoical ethic was his best virtue.

As regards Multan, Albairuni tells us (Vol. I, p. 298) that "Utpala, a native of Kashmir, says in his commentary on the book *Samhita* that Multan was originally called *Kaśyapapura*, then *Hamsapura*, then *Baghapura*, then *Śarabhapura*, and then *Mūlasthāna* the original place, for *Mūla* means root or origin and *Sthāna* means place." *Kaśyapapura* is said to be derived from Kaśyapa, one of the seven *ṛṣis* that created the world. Prior to the rise of Islam there existed an extensive Hindu or Buddhist kingdom on the Indus which extended on the north as far as the frontier of the kingdom of Kashmir and to the port of Debal and along the shore of the ocean on the south-west. All the ancient names of Multan are significant. *Bāgha* (Vāgha) is the lion; *Śarabha* is the elephant; *Hamsa* is the swan; and the reverse of *Sōham*; it is also an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. The *asuras* are, of course, men, as are *daityas*, *rākṣasas*, etc. The *asuras* were men of mysterious power. According to Satwalkar (*Mahābhārata*, Hindi), *asuras* were possessed of Vidya, Kala and Kapta Niti; they were great builders and given to *tapas*; they were stoics, in religion. He identifies them with the Persians and the Assyrians. He places the *dēras* in Tibet and *daityas* to the west of the *asuras* and *rākṣasas* to further north of both.

A number of other historical inferences can be drawn from the various versions of the story given before, concerning the composition of the Purāṇas at different periods; the relation of the Purāṇas to the *brāhmaṇas*, to the *Mahābhārata*, and amongst themselves, to the several religious movements India witnessed about the advent of Islam into India; the course of migration into and spread over India, of

the Āryans and their contact with the Āryans; the part the Brāhmanas, the Kṣatriyas and the non-Āryans played in the evolution of a composite Indian culture; the nature of pre-Āryan beliefs; the truth of various genealogies, etc. But the drawing of such deductions is out of my immediate province.

In a recent article in the *Mahā-Bōdhi* (October 1934) I read: It appears that the original inhabitants of Bengal belonged to the *asura* race and spoke the *asura* tongue, which had perhaps affiliation to the *Austrie* or *Austro-Asiatic* family of languages. Did the *asuras* at any time over-run the whole of North India, Multan to Bengal?

The Mythical Prahlāda

So far about the historical Prahlāda. What about the astronomical and metaphysical interpretations of this legend? What about the elaborate explanations provided by Mr. Nārāyan Aiyangār¹ and by the Sindhi genius, Principal N. V. Thadani who has interpreted the whole of the *Mahābhārata*, every incident in it, on a metaphysical basis. Although not a Sanskritist, I would hazard a conjecture. To me the unanimous tradition that Vyāsa compiled the Vēdas, the *Mahābhārata* and the Vēdānta Sūtras is very significant. It connotes one thing and that is most important that he was a philosopher whose synthesis harmonized all the three important Hindu systems of philosophy, Sāṅkhya, Yōga and Vēdānta. In the work of compilation he applied those synthetizing and correlating principles, and with the *Śabda-brahman* before him, he exploited the fertile Sanskrit words to their fullest extent and proved that Sanskrit, whether revealed or evolved, is a perfect language in that it takes account of all the four astronomical, psychological, spiritual and earthly facts of existence, and remembers and uses at each step their fourfold correspondence. In any case whether intentionally contrived or not, the fact remains, that almost all events and objects mentioned in the Vēdas and the *Mahābhārata* lend themselves to a very detailed astronomical, psychological and spiritual interpretation. The

¹ *Essays on Indo-Āryan Mythology.*

dominant note of them is *rēdāntic*, the science of self and non-self, *jīva* and *brahman*, *māya* and *brahman* on the one hand and a keen, minute and comprehensive observation of the material phenomenon about us, on earth and in heaven, on the other. Such an exposition for which the books themselves supply clues and keys does no harm, is not fanciful and is of incalculable benefit in carrying the message of spirituality and ethics to the masses, the one purpose which the authors had in their minds. Prahlāda whether as Moon, as ideal *Sōma*, as the two spring months, as *Ānanda*, as wisdom and behaviour and *bhakti*, as sound, appeals to us and guides us on the path of life. The Panjab Hindu every year celebrates *Hōlī* and *Lōhī* or *Lohrī* and recalls the triumph of good over evil, devotion over pride, self-control over passion, divine purposiveness over human bungling, *yōga* over *tapas*, while the Panjab Sikh everyday reminds himself in the words of the *Ādī Granth* : *Rām Japo Jiyā aise aise, Dhrū Prahlād Japio Har Jaise* ; Remember the Lord, O my heart, in the same way as *Dhrura* and *Prahlāda* remembered *Harī* ; and, again, *Harṇākash Duśt Har Māriyā, Prahlād Tarāiyā*, the Lord killed the evil-doer *Harṇākash* (*Hiraṇyākṣa*) and rescued the devotee *Prahlāda*. *Prahlāda* in the hands of the *Vaiṣṇava* exponents, has become an ideal for the laymen, who are taught by that ideal, faith in God, fearlessness, and the efficacy of the ever-present divine consciousness. God will guide us, protect us, reveal Himself to us only if we keep our consciousness charged with Him every moment. If that process of charging our consciousness with Him brings us into direct conflict with authority, with filial duty, we should dare them, deny them and all will yet be well in the end. To help us to acquire that God-charged consciousness, to awaken us to the reality of His power, any simple event about us will be and is enough. There will be potters and potteresses and ants enough about us to teach us the truth only if we go about in the right way. *Prahlāda* to the modern Hindu, is not the classical *Prahlāda* ; he is the *Prahlāda* of *Vernacular* tradition and I cannot do better than translate here lines on *Prahlāda* from *Guru Amar Das* (1479-1574) who

was himself awakened to *Bhakti* unlike Prahlāda very late in life. He says :

(i)

Hari, Govinda, Gopāla writes the alphabet for me, which I shall learn. Those who attach themselves to another, are caught in the noose of *Yama*. My *Sadi Guru* (true teacher) looks after me.....In a trice He appeared in a terrifying aspect*Hari* does all their work for the saints. Twenty-one generations of *Prahlāda's* ancestors were granted deliverance by the Lord. The word of the *Guru* destroys the limited consciousness, which acts like a poison (*Ādi Grantha*, p. 1133).

(ii)

He has Himself allotted work to the *daityas* and He Himself shields the saints against the *daityas'* attacks. Whosoever takes shelter in Him, never suffers mental pain.....The son of *daitya*, Prahlāda, knew neither *Gāyatrī* song nor *Tarpaṇa* (offerings) ; he was united to God only through *śabda*, the word. Those who practise devotion, day and night, the *śabda* destroys their awareness of duality. Those who love truth are ever pure and the Lord resides in their hearts. The foolish fall into the pit of duality ; they know not the *Mūla*, the root, and live out their lives in vain. Out of malice, the evil-minded *daitya* used to talk ill of the saints. Prahlāda did not learn duality ; he would not renounce the name of *Hari* nor was he frightened of any persecution (*Ādi Grantha*, p. 1133).

(iii)

The Creator (*Kartā*) wrought a wonder ; He made Prahlāda hear the *śabda* of the *Anāhata Vāṇi* (divine utterance). He who had turned his face from Him was lost in ignorance and he who had turned his face to Him shone with knowledge ; thus has the Creator ever produced causes yielding differing effects upon different temperaments. I shall learn no other code of conduct than the remembrance of His name ; my alphabet will be taught to me by *Gōvinda* and *Murāri*. His mother said to Prahlāda : Don't learn the path of *Pravṛtṭi* (turning towards from the world), that is what I have told

you so often. But he replied : The Fearless, the Giver is ever by my side.....He made the whole city tread the path of devotion (*Bhakti*) ; he listened to nothing of what the *sabā* (assembly) of the evil taught him....The Lord protects the honour of the *bhaktas* ; What can the created ones do (against His will) ? I practise within me the *dhyāna* (contemplation) of the word of the *guru*. It is one's own actions that act as causes ; thus was the *daitya* moved to activity ; he did not realize *Hari* and forgot his real self....The father threatened to strike the son with a club, asking him : Where is your *Jagadīśa* and *Gusāin*, the *Īśvara* of the creation, the Lord of the world ? Prahlāda answered : He is the life of the world, the Giver, the Friend in time of need ; wheresoever I cast my glance I behold Him. *Hari* manifested Himself out of the rent pillar and destroyed the *daitya* full of *ahankāra*. In the hearts of the *bhaktas* was sounded : Felicitations on your *Ānanda* (joy)*Lakṣmī* was afraid (of *Narasimha*) ; she would not go near. Thereupon the *Jana* (slave) Prahlāda went ahead and touched His feet. Sovereignty and possessions are all unreal, all *Māya**Nanak* says, it is all His doing....The Creator showed His *rūpa* (form) (*Ādi Grantha*, pp. 1154-55).

Let us remember in the end that his case is particularly heartening for us. He was not a twice-born ; he was worse than even a *śūdra* for he was a *daitya*, *asura*, non-Āryan and even he could rise in the scale and obtain salvation through the remembrance of the divine name. His christian spirit of forgiveness as revealed in his acquisition of divine exculpation for his father is the spirit that we need most today.

(To be concluded)

THE TRIPLE BASIS OF THE VĒDĀNTA*

BY RAO SAHEB N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.

GOD, Man and the Universe are the topics of speculation in philosophy. The universe is the collection of all that is, including man, excepting perhaps only God. Though man is a part of the manifested universe, he is apart from it, as he lives, moves and has his being as an entity, able to guide and control the universe. In this capacity, man, as the master of the universe, is the link between the universe and God. What makes him the master of the universe is his soul, which, associated with the mind and the will, interprets him to the universe and the universe to him. The soul magnified in its function becomes God in the first instance. As the soul is seen in the activity of man, God is seen in the activity of the universe. In the soul and God, however, there are two aspects, the personal and the impersonal. The former is known from different forms of activity, while the latter is the subject of speculation in philosophy. Leaving the universe aside for the moment, the idea of man and of God has two sides to it, the personal and the impersonal. Thus, we have,

God

Man

Impersonal Personal Impersonal Personal

In the Vedānta, God Impersonal is called Brahman, who is
Nirguṇa.

God Personal is called Paramātmā, who is
Saguṇa.

Man Impersonal is called Jīvātmā, who is the
Paramātmā in the making.

Man Personal is the Individual who is *part*
of the Universe.

The Universe is called *Jagat*.

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The Doctrine of the Vēdānta is succinctly expressed in the Formula,

ब्रह्मस्मल्यं जगन्मिथ्या Brahman is Real ; Jagat is Unreal ;

जीवोब्रह्मैव नापरः Jīva is Brahman and nothing else.

The exposition of these three propositions is the function of the three main texts, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa* which are together called *Prasthāna Traya*, the three-fold basis of the Vēdānta.

It is interesting to see how this topic is developed in the three texts. I shall first take the *Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa*. In the course of five hundred and fifty-five sūtras or aphorisms, the author has dealt with the relation between Brahman and the universe, Brahman and man, and the nature of and the goal of existence. Broadly speaking the first chapter is devoted to the exposition of the idea that the whole universe is the form of Brahman. The second chapter after laying down that the whole universe has its origin in Brahman, separates the man from the universe, and dilates on the finiteness of the soul in man, as contrasted with the infiniteness of Brahman and dividing the human form into the vitalising element and the vitalised organism, separates the soul from the body for treatment. The body of man is merely a composite organism made up of the free elements of nature, while the soul partakes of the nature of Brahman in its activity. The next step is that this vital agency in life draws its energy from the special form of Brahman, known as *Hiraṇyagarbha*. Thus the *Jīva* becomes a separate factor in evolution, with the *Jagat* or the universe at one end, and Brahman, *Nirguṇa* and *Saguṇa* at the other end. Thus placed between two forces, the former materialising and the latter spiritualising the *Jīva*, the human soul has to feel its way in the world, from birth to death. These two limits of existence, birth and death, are therefore the limits of activity for man, as such, in space and in time. The eternal Brahman in eternal space and eternal time is the ideal and the limited *Jīva* in limited space and limited time is the actual idea. The activity of the human soul in this enclosure of existence constitutes virtue and vice,

Punya and *Pāpa*. When this limited line is extended backwards and forwards in the eternity of space and time, the conception of heaven and hell, *Śvarga* and *Naraka*, and the concomitant conception of re-birth based on *Karma* and *Guṇa*, necessarily enter the field of speculation. Thus *Karma* begins to bind the activity of man in the world and liberation from this binding force becomes the ideal of man, if his goal is to reach Brahman and become one with Brahman. This upward course involves escape from the downward course of attachment to material things embodied in the *Jagat* or the universe, though it is also a form of and a manifestation of the same Brahman. If Brahman is the reality, the universe becomes necessarily the unreality, as two realities cannot exist in infinity. Thus the third chapter, by introducing the conceptions of virtue and vice, heaven and hell, birth and rebirth, and by placing the real Brahman as against the unreal universe starts and works out the idea and the ideal of *Upāsana*. The central doctrine of the Vēdānta as expounded by Bādarāyaṇa is developed in the third chapter, second section, Sūtras eleven to thirty-seven.

Of the three factors of speculation, *Jagat* or the universe being *Mithya* or unreal, *Brahman*, represented by *Tat*, and *Jiva*, represented by *Tvam*, in the *Mahāvākya Tat-Tvam, That-Thou*, are left for consideration. *Jiva*, being that which we see incessantly in an active state, is *Saguṇa*, being made up of the characteristics of *Saṭtva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, viz. equanimity, activity and inactivity; while Brahman who is realised from the activity of the universe and whose exact characteristics are only in the field of speculation and passive realisation, is *Nirguṇa*, being devoid of directly cognisable characteristics. When both these, Brahman and *Jiva*, are subjected to further analysis, *Jiva* becomes unreal, in the sense that the make-up of the *Jiva* is at the best and at the worst, a make-believe, as the attributes and the characteristics of *Jiva* are liable to and do actually cease to be at some time and at some stage. If the *Saguṇa Jiva* is also unreal, the only reality that remains is Brahman. But then there is an essential difference

between the unreality of the *Jagat* and the unreality of *Jiva*. *Jagat* or the universe, guided and controlled by the active *Jiva*, is absolute unreality, while *Jiva*, who runs the show of existence in the universe is only relatively unreal. The position arrived at may thus be stated:—

Jagat is apparently real, but absolutely unreal.

Jiva is relatively real, but *de facto* unreal.

Brahman is eternally real, by deduction, and so is absolutely real.

It is easy to disregard the *Jagat*, but it is not quite so easy to disregard *Jiva* and dismiss it as a *Mithya*, for its existence is the greatest reality we actually observe. So the question resolves itself to a consideration of the relationship between *Jiva* and *Brahman*. What happens is that the conception of *Brahman* is cut up into two parts and *Jiva* is also cut up into two parts.

Brahman becomes *Saguna* and *Nirguna*.

Jiva is active as the vitaliser of the human frame and as the *Upāsaka* of *Brahman*.

Leaving the animal side of *Jiva* alone, we take up the *Jiva* as the force in man that tries to lead him upward in evolution.¹ *Jiva* now meditates on *Brahman*, in two ways, as *Saguna* *Brahman* and *Nirguna* *Brahman*. The former attitude of man is his religion and the latter attitude is his philosophy. In the first attitude of man towards *Brahman*, he becomes an active religious man, being bound by the requirements of Vedic *Karma* or religious ritual and worship, including prayer of the protestant type. In the second attitude, man is led only by his power of concentration: The theory of the Vedānta is that the first attitude is the path of preparation for the second and an absolutely necessary path. It even lays down that the first path is incumbent for man throughout his life, even when and though he feels he is fit for the second attitude, because there are pitfalls in the second attitude, while there

¹ Called distinctively as *Ātma* and *Antarātma*, as different from *Paramātma*, i.e. *ātma-Upaniṣad*, *Rudra Hṛdaya-upaniṣad* and *Taittiriya-Upaniṣad* (*Nārāyaṇa Valli*, 66).

are ample safeguards in the first, and because the first could be gauged, not so the second. The theory of the Vēdānta is fulfilled in its practise in life, as all theories are realised only in practical application. So to realise the *Nirguṇa* Brahman, the *Upāsana* of *Saguṇa* Brahman is a necessary preliminary and concomitant. But says Bādarāyaṇa, the leading of *Saguṇa Upāsana* stops at a stage of its own accord. As long as the difference between *Tat* and *Tvam* is maintained by *Jiva*, *Jiva* remains separate from Brahman. That stage of differentiation is called *Avidya*. When the *Antahkaraṇa* or the inner being realises the oneness of the two, *Tat* becomes *Tvam* and *vice versa*. *Abhēda* or non-differentiation comes in and the *Mahāvākya* becomes *Tat-Tvam-Asi*, That-Thou-Art. That equation is realisation. According to the doctrine of *Yōga* as developed in the Upaniṣads, the stages of *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Āsana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Pratyāhāra*, *Dhyāna* and *Dhāraṇa* are all preliminary to *Samādhi*. As the *Mandala-Brahmaṇa Upaniṣad* puts it succinctly, to image the Caitanya as one is *Dhyāna*, to fix it up as one is *Dhāraṇa* and to forget it as an entity separate from His Self is *Samādhi*. Sūtras twenty-five to thirty-seven are devoted in the third chapter, second section, to the exposition of the *abhēda* or non-differentiation between *Jiva* and *Brahman*, and the establishment of the Vēdāntic truth, *Tat-Tvam-Asi* (That-Thou-Art), and *Brahma-Aham-Asmi* (Brahman-I-Am). The difference is *Avidya* and *Jagat* is *Mithya*. The rest of the treatise to the end of chapter III and the whole of chapter IV are devoted to a consideration of the comparative merits of *Karma* and *Gñāna*, the two paths of *Upāsana* laid down in the Vēda. The main ideas dealt with in the latter portion of the *Brahma Sūtras* by Bādarāyaṇa may be thus put in a nutshell.

1. *Saguṇa Upāsanas* of all grades and types are essentially alike in purpose.
2. The aim of *Saguṇa Upāsana*, i.e. *Svarga* or heaven is only a secondary aim, as it leads to *Nirguṇa Upāsana*, the aim of which is *Ānanda*, the form of Brahman.

3. *Mōkṣa* or salvation is the realisation, through *Upāsana* and *Gñāna* of the oneness, *Advītiya* of *Ātma* and *Śat*, the soul and truth.
4. Different forms of *Saguṇa Upāsana* lead *Jīva*, shorn of the bodily vehicle, in the *Linga-Śarīra*, to *Brahma-lōka*, along the path of the Sun, and from there to *Sāyujya* or oneness with Brahman.

This is the path of *Karma*.

5. *Nirguṇa Upāsana* or *Gñāna-Mārga* leads one to *Sayujya* straightly.
6. The path of *Karma* is intended for making man free from all sin inherited from his own past *Karma*, added to by his own *Karma*, in his voyage in the ocean of eternity, in his ship of life.
7. *Sannyāsa* or renunciation is the aim of both the *Upāsaka* and the *Gñāni*. The *Dharma* of *Varṇa* and *Āśrama* is the training ground for both.
8. Self-control and unattachment are necessary requisites.
9. The final *Dharma* of the final *Āśrama*, viz. *Sannyāsa*, is *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsa*, i.e. study, thought and meditation.
10. *Karma* with *Upāsana* leads to *Gñāna*.
11. The *lōkas* traversed by the *Karma-Upāsaka* lead him finally to *Brahma-lōka*, from which there is no return.
12. The *Saguṇa-Upāsaka* reaches *Hiranyagarbha*, the *Saguṇa-Brahman*, and then gets *Brahma-Sāyujya*.
13. The *Nirguṇa-Upāsaka* attains *Paramātma* or Brahman as *Jyōti*, the eternal light.
14. The enjoyment of life is no bar to *Brahma-Siddhi*.
15. The Vēdic conception of enjoyment of higher life in other *lōkas* is not opposed to *Brahma-Siddhi*.
16. Both the *Saguṇa* and the *Nirguṇa Upāsakas* do attain *Brahma-Sāyujya* and from that state of bliss or *Ānanda*, there is no return.

This, in brief, is the teaching of the great *Rṣi Bādarāyaṇa* in his *Brahma Sūtras*. The same doctrine of the Vēdānta is

succinctly expressed in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Chapter V, verses fourteen to seventeen.

14. *Karta*, *Karma* and *Karma phala* are not the creations of *Īśvara*, but of *Svabhāva* (i.e. one's own nature, which is the result of birth based on *Karma* and *Guṇa* as stated in Chapter IV, verse 13).
15. *Īśvara* has nothing to do with virtue or vice. It is *Agñāna* which is concealing *Gñāna*, that makes us think so.
16. When the veil of *Agñāna* is removed, *Gñāna* shines like the light of *Āditya*.
17. He who conquers vice by *Gñāna*, he who then knows the nature of Brahman, knows Brahman to be His Self, who meditates on Brahman and whose sole pleasure consists in it, goes to Brahman and does not return.

The philosophical teaching contained in the *Bhagavad Gītā* is concentrated in chapters two to six. The first chapter merely states the mental attitude of Arjuna towards his *Dharma* on the eve of the impending war. The substance of the five chapters two to six, may thus be stated for a general outline-view :—

2. One should know the best that should be known and that is that life and God are eternal, that *Dharma* is the gate to *Svarga*. With a firm mind and self-discipline, with clear vision and serene comprehension, one should do one's duty, selflessly. Such action gives one peace and happiness.
3. There are two paths for *Mōkṣa*, *Karma* and *Gñāna*. Action should be done in accordance with the Vedic injunction and the tradition of the elders. There must be detachment, sense of selfless sacrifice and dedication of the action and the fruits of action to God. That is *Karma-Yōga*.
4. As God is eternal, so is *Dharma* eternal. *Vaidika Karma* and *Dharma* should be performed and followed, in a spirit of reverence, knowledge and

service. That knowledge and action leads one to Him. That is *Gñāna-Yōga*.

5. Chapters three and four are co-ordinated in Chapter V. *Karma-Sannyāsa* is the performance of *Karma*, without attachment to the result, in a spirit of absolute dedication to God. *Agñāna* conceals *Gñāna*. When the mind is purified by *Karma-Sannyāsa*, the veil falls away and *Gñāna* shines, like light in a dark room. The discipline for that state of *Gñāna* and *Karma* is *Yōga*.
6. The sixth chapter is the expansion of the theme at the end of the fifth chapter. *Karma*, without attachment to result, is *Sannyāsa*, is *Yōga*. *Karma* leads to *Yōga*, through *Sama*, mental equilibrium. *Yōga* leads to *Tapas*, meditation.

Summarised, the ideas are :—

1. Know the best.
2. Do, selflessly.
3. Know and do, to become perfect.
4. Then doing is no doing.
5. If the mind is at peace.

Yōga is peace of mind ; *Sannyāsa* is non-doing. Both are the same.

The philosophy of *Karma* and *Gñāna* is thus complete.

Chapters seven, eight and nine are taken up with the need for knowing the Lord as *Nārāyaṇa*, as being above all creation, and for selfless surrender to Him. This is the doctrine of *Bhakti*, which is the subject of ethics and not of philosophy. *Bhakti* is no third *mārga* as some interpreters think. It is a phase of both *Karma* and *Gñāna*. In the tenth and eleventh chapters the Lord reveals Himself through His manifestation and person. The remaining chapters develop the ethics of the relationship of man to God thus

12. Man should develop the spirit of love and devotion to Him.
13. Man should realise that He is neither the body nor the soul.

14. He is free from those characteristics which distinguish men.
15. He is *Puruṣōttama*.
16. Man's conduct is godly, when he acts according to the *Śāstra-Vidhi*, holding the *Śāstra*, based on the *Vēda*, as the *Pramāṇa* or authority.
17. The result of man's action is proportionate to his *Śraddha*. The goal of action is goodness, which is godliness. *Tat-Sat*.
18. The spirit of absolute surrender is the way to bliss.²

While thus the *Brahma Sūtras* deal with the eternity of Brahman, dismissing *Jagat* or the universe as unreal, and *Jīva* as unreal in the sense that at one stage it coalesces with Brahman and so ceases to be, and state the theory that this Brahman is meditated upon as *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa*, in the form of *Karma* and *Gñāna*, and that through either or both the ways, the same Brahman is realised in fulness of time, the *Bhagavad Gītā* gives a somewhat different treatment to the same theory, by showing the comparative merits of *Karma* and *Gñāna* and stating that *Karma* is the path to *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*, and that this path leads in fulness of time through self-purification to *Gñāna* and *Mōkṣa*, a state of bliss from which there is no return. In these two texts, therefore, four fundamental philosophical ideas are formulated and developed, viz. *Karma*, *Yōga*, *Sannyāsa*, *Gñāna*—all leading to *Mōkṣa* or *Sāyujya* or realisation of Brahman.

The *Bhagavad Gītā* is itself called an upaniṣad or a philosophical treatise, expounding the *Doctrine of Life*, propounded in the basic text of religion and philosophy, the Vedas. However, the *Bhagavad Gītā* is only a part of the *Bhīṣma Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, called the fifth Veda; and the philosophy and the ethics of the *Gītā* is directly connected with a particular episode in the history of India. The upaniṣads, as such,

² Dealt with at length in the Paper on, "The Ethical and Philosophical Significance of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*," by the author of this Paper, submitted to the Eleventh Indian Philosophical Congress, Calcutta (*vide abstract in Proc. Part II*, pp. 250-51).

which are a hundred and eight in number are purely philosophical treatises devoted to the topical exposition of the Vedic *Doctrine of Life*. The hundred and eight upaniṣads are devoted to these four great topics of philosophy, viz. *Karma*, *Yōga*, *Sannyāsa* and *Gñāna*.

The Vēda deals with two topics, *Karma* and *Gñāna*. The aim of *Karma* is to enable man to avert evil and attain what is good to him in life. *Karma* in turn ends in *Gñāna* and *Mōkṣa*. The means to *Gñāna* and *Mōkṣa* is *Sannyāsa* and *Yōga*, based on the purity of the mind. So says the Vēdic mantra in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X, 12. Not by *Karma* or progeny or wealth could eternal life be realised, but only and solely by *Tyāga* or *Sannyāsa*. Through the knowledge of Vēdānta and its import, and with *Sannyāsa*, *Yōga* and purified mind (*Śuddha-Satva*) could the *Brahma-lōka* and *Mukti* be attained.

So the Vēda has itself textually laid down the pre-requisites for *Mōkṣa*, as *Sannyāsa* and *Yōga*. *Karma* and *Gñāna* are the two forms of human activity. The hundred and eight upaniṣads deal with these four topics, with this addition, viz. *Karma* is divided into two parts, *Mantra* and *Upāsana*, the bare use of the *Mantra*, with its sound-value, and the applied use of the *Mantra* with its ritualistic value. Thus the hundred and eight upaniṣads fall into five divisions, *Mantra*, *Upāsana*, *Yōga*, *Sannyāsa* and *Gñāna*. The Vēdāntic doctrine of human life and eternal life developed in the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the two texts of the *Prasthāna-traya*, is thus developed in the upaniṣads :

Note.—[Of these hundred and eight upaniṣads, thirty-one belong to the *Atharva Vēda*, thirty-two to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, nineteen to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*, sixteen to the *Sāma Vēda* and ten to the *R̥g Vēda*].—(Summarised and dealt with in "The Upaniṣads of the *Atharva Vēda*", *QJMS*. Vol. XXVI, No. 1 & 2, pp. 51-72.)

Mantra and Upāsana upaniṣads (47)

A portion of the *Prāṣṇa upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Vēda* is devoted to the equation of *Prāṇava Aum* with *Paramātma*. *Puruṣa* has sixteen *Kalas* and these ultimately return to

Paramātma. The *Puruṣa sūkta* of the *Atharva Vēda*, XIX, 6, in the sixteenth verse, not found in the text of the *Sūkta* in the other *Vēdas*, mentions King *Sōma*, as being born from *Puruṣa*, with seven times seventy rays. *Sōma*, associated with the Moon in later times, possesses sixteen *Kalas*. The *Nāda-bindu upaniṣad* of the *Ṛg Vēda* deals with the twelve *Mantras* of the *Praṇava*, while the *Akṣa Mālīka* of the *Ṛg Vēda* deals with the esoteric significance of the fifty letters of the alphabet. The *Tripura upaniṣad* of the *Ṛg Vēda* deals with *Amṛteśvarī mantra* of *Dēvī*, the female side of Brahman, the *Puruṣa*. These deal purely with the *Mantra*-side of *Upāsana*, while the *upaniṣads* dealing with *Upāsana* as a special feature of *Karma-Yōga*, using the *Mantras* as the basis of meditation are quite legion. This is a special feature of several of the *upaniṣads* of the *Atharva Vēda*. The *Atharva Vēda upaniṣads* dealing with this section are the *Atharva Śīra*, *Nṛsimha-Tāpinī*, *Sīta*, *Śarabha*, *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa*, *Rāma-Rahasya*, *Rāma-Tāpinī*, *Annapūrṇa*, *Sūrya*, *Tripura*, *Dēvī*, *Bhāvana*, *Bhasma-Jābala*, *Gaṇapati*, *Mahā-Vākya*, *Gōpōla-Tāpinī*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Hayagrīva*, and *Dattātreyā upaniṣads*. Among these the *Tripura-Tāpinī*, the *Devī* and the *Bhāvana upaniṣads* of the *Atharva Vēda* inaugurated the *Mantra Śāstra*³ and the school of *Śāktas*. It is in the *Bhāvana-upaniṣad* that we get the make up of the *Śrī-Cakra*, the mystic symbol of *Śākta-Upāsana*. Next to the *Atharva Vēda*, the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* claims the largest number of *upaniṣads* dealing with *Upāsana* or meditation on concentrated *Mantras*. Those are the *Kaivalya*, *Śvetāsvatara*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Sūtra-Rahasya*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, *Skanda*, *Ēkāṁsara*, *Akṣi*, *Rudra-hṛdaya*, *Panca-Brahma*, *Prāṇāgñi-hōṭra*, *Kalī-santāraṇa*, and *Sarasvatī-Rahasya upaniṣads*. Of the remaining *upaniṣads* of this section, six, *Jābala*, *Hamsa*, *Subala*, *Māntrika*, *Paingala* and *Tārasāra* belong to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*, two, *Aryakta* and *Sāvitrī* to the *Sāma Vēda* and three *Mudgala*, *Soubhāgya-Lakṣmī* and *Bahr̥ra* to the *Ṛg Vēda*. The

³ The author's Paper on "The *Atharva Vēda* and the *Mantra Śāstra*," *QJMS*. Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 153-158.

importance of the upaniṣads of this class of *Upāsana* and the previous class of *Mantra-upaniṣads*, lies in giving a new orientation to the use of the Vēdic symbols and sounds for concentrated meditation and in starting quite a new school of *Upāsakas* known as the *Śāktas*, who meditated on Brahman in the female form of *dēvī*. The credit for this goes entirely to the *Atharva Vēda*, so much so that many learned men now wrongly think that the *Atharva Vēda* means the *Mantra-Śāstra*. These two classes of upaniṣads naturally paved the way for the development of *Yōga* as a special mode of life to facilitate concentration and meditation. The general formula of *Yōga* is contained in the *Aṣṭangās*, *Yama* or steadiness, *Niyama* or self-discipline, *Āsana* or attitude, *Prāṇāyāma* or breath-regulation, *Pratyāhara* or concentration, the five preparatory stages leading to the three higher stages, viz. *Dhyāna* or the thought of Brahman as the form of existence, *Dhāraṇa* or the fixation of that thought in the mind and *Samādhi* or the realisation of the truth in the *Vismṛti* or forgetfulness of the thought itself, Brahman and the individual becoming one, as the *Mandala-Brahmaṇa upaniṣad* puts it.

Yōga-upaniṣads (14)

The sixth chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā* begins with the proposition that *Karma* performed without attachment and desire is *Yōga*, is *Sanmyāsa*. Until one attains *Gñāna*, the *Path of Karma* is the only path for one and the path of *Karma* is the path of *Yōga* and *Sanmyāsa*. *Mantra*, *Upāsana*, *Yōga* and *Sanmyāsa* are the means by which a person reaches the domain of *Gñāna*. The aspirant for *Gñāna*, *Ārurukṣa*, is helped by *Karma*, and the *Gñāni*, *Yōga-Ārūḍha*, is helped by freedom from *Karma* (chapter VI, 3). To pass from *Karma* to *Gñāna*, the first steps are *Mantra* and *Upāsana*, the later steps are *Yōga* and *Sanmyāsa*. The upaniṣads that develop the idea of *Yōga* belong particularly to the *Yajur Vēda*. The *Garbha*, *Amṛta-Nāda*, *Kṣurika*, *Tējōbindu*, *Dhyānabindu*, *Yogataṭṭva*, *Yōga-śikha* and *Yōga-Kundali upaniṣads* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* and the *Triśikha-Brahma*, *Maṇḍala-Brahma*, and *Advaita-Tāraka upaniṣads* of the *Śukla Yajur*

Vēda deal with all the details of the theory and practice of *Yōga*. Besides these eleven, the *upaniṣads* that deal with *Yōga* are only three, the *Śāṇḍilya upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Vēda* and the *Yōga-Cūdamaṇi* and *Darśana upaniṣads* of the *Sāma Vēda*. The *Rg Vēda* *upaniṣads* do not deal either with *Yōga* or *Sannyāsa*.

Sannyāsa upaniṣads (13)

If meditation or *Yōga* is the first step to *Gñāna*, the second immediate step to *Gñāna* is *Sannyāsa* or renunciation. There is the spirit of *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa* in *Upāsana* also, but after a certain stage, the stage of absolute renunciation necessarily comes in. This stage in one's upward path may occur at any time, when he is a *Brahmacāri* or a *Grhastha* or a *Vānaprastha*. *Sannyāsa* is the last *Āśrama*, but it has no limit of time for its inception. When this stage arrives in any life of a person and at any stage of it, he takes a new birth, according to the code of *Varṇa-Āśrama-Dharma*. But even at that stage, *Dharma* does not leave him. That is the trouble with the code of Vēdic *Dharma*. Several rules and regulations limit the activities of a person who has reached the stage of *Sannyāsa*, for discipline is the life-breath of *Dharma*, as *Dharma* is the life-breath of the *Vēda*. Three *upaniṣads* of the *Atharva Vēda*, the *Nārada-Parivṛājaka*, *Paramahansa-Parivṛājaka*, and *Parā-upaniṣads*, two of the *Sāma Vēda*, the *Āruṇika-Mahā-Sannyāsa*, and the *Kuṇḍika upaniṣads*, one of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, the *Katha upaniṣad*, and five of the *Śukla Yajur Vēda upaniṣads*, the *Paramahansa*, *Bhikṣuka*, *Turiyātītavadhūta*, *Yājñavalkya*, and *Satyajaniya upaniṣads* deal with this topic in all its details.

There are in addition to these *upaniṣads* of the *Vēdas* dealing with the *Karma-Kāṇḍa* of the *Vēda*, a few *upaniṣads* which deal with special subsidiary topics, like *Bhasma*, *Rudrākṣa*, etc. They are seven in number. To the *Atharva Vēda* belong the *Brhad-Jābāla* and the *Paśupati-Brahma upaniṣads*. To the *Sāma Vēda* belong the *Vāsudēva*, *Rudrākṣa-Jābāla*, *Jābali*, and *Vajrasūcya upaniṣads*. To the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda* belongs only one *upaniṣad* of this type, viz.

Kālāgni-Rudra. There is none belonging to this type under the *Śukla-Yajur Vēda* or the *R̥g Vēda*.

Brahma-Vidya or Brahma-Gñāna (27)

We now arrive at the upaniṣads dealing solely and more or less exclusively with the *Gñāna-Kāṇḍa* of the Vēda. Of the hundred and eight upaniṣads, only twenty-seven belong to this class. Among them only ten have been taken by the Ācāryas, Śrī Śankara, Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Madhva⁴ for their elucidation of the doctrine of the Vēdānta. Of these twenty-seven, five belong to the *Atharva Vēda*, four to the *Sāma Vēda*, nine to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, five to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda* and four to the *R̥g Vēda*. Of the ten major upaniṣads three belong to the *Atharva Vēda*, two to the *Sāma Vēda*, two to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, two to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda* and one to the *R̥g Vēda*. The minor upaniṣads under this class are the *Atharva-śikha* and the *Ātma upaniṣads* of the *Atharva Vēda*, the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Maitrēyī* of the *Sāma Vēda*, the *Brahma*, *Amṛta-Bindu*, *Sarvasāra*, *Brahma-Vidya*, *Śāriraka*, *Avadhūta* and *Varāha* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*, the *Nirālamba Adhyātma* and *Muktika* of the *Śukla-Yajur Vēda*, and the *Kauṣītaki*, *Ātma-Bōdha* and *Nirvāṇa upaniṣads* of the *R̥g Vēda*. However, for elucidating the fundamental doctrines of the Vēdānta, we have recourse to the ten major upaniṣads. The *Aitarēya* alone belongs to the *R̥g Vēda*. The *Īsāvāsya*

⁴ Śrī Śankarācārya. Śrī Rāmānujācārya and Śrī Madhvācārya are the accredited leaders of the three great schools of Vēdānta in India, known respectively as the *Advaita*, the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and the *Dvaita*. Without entering into the details of their systems of speculation, it is possible to find the germ of these three phases of thought regarding the relation between Brahman and Jīva in the *Brahma Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, Chapter I, Section iv, Sūtras 20, 21 and 22 :—

20. *The theory of Asmarathya*.—Brahman and Jīva are related as cause and effect.

21. *The theory of Audulomī*.—Brahman and Jīva are separate upto *Mōkṣa* and they become one in *Mōkṣa*.

22. *The theory of Kasakṛṣṇa*.—Brahman and Jīva are like the object and its reflection.

and the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* belong to the *Śukla Yajur Vēda*. The *Katha* and the *Taittirīya* belong to the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*. The *Kēna* and the *Cāndōgya* belong to the *Sāma Vēda*. The *Praśna*, the *Mundaka* and above all the *Māndūkya*, which is called the head of all the upaniṣads, the upaniṣad which is the *Sannyāsi's* one upaniṣad for *Manana* and *Nidhi-dhyāsa* with its gloss, belong to the *Atharva Vēda*.

The *Muktikōpaniṣad* says that the *Māndūkya upaniṣad* alone is sufficient for giving one *Mōkṣa* and liberation from births. The reason is that it is in this short upaniṣad of the *Atharva Vēda* that the *Praṇava* is philologically and psychologically analysed and the equation of the *Jīva* with Brahman is fully explained. Though short and direct, it is a perfect upaniṣad for *Brahma Vidya*. Though the treatment of the *Praṇava* and the exposition of Brahman is the common topic of all the upaniṣads in this section, yet in their methods they naturally differ. The *Īśa* and the *Māndūkya* are quite direct in their teaching. The former gives the esoteric and intrinsic value of *Ātma-Gñāna*, while the latter directly initiates the aspirant in *Praṇava-Dhyāna* and thus inculcates *Brahma Vidya*. The *Katha upaniṣad*, through the upaniṣadic rendering of the story of *Naśikētas*, related in the *Taittirīya Kāthaka Praśna*, gives an easy view of *Ātma-Gñāna*. The fundamental doctrine of the Vedānta is that *Karma* according to the Vēdic injunction, through *Mantra*, *Upāsana*, *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*, purifies the *Citta* and prepares the way for *Ātma-Gñāna*, the knowledge of the self, in relation to the *Jagat* or the universe, and thus prepares the *Ātma* or *Jīva*, through *Saguṇa Upāsana*, for *Nirguṇa Upāsana*, which creates *Brahma Gñāna* and brings about *Brahma-Sāyujya* or coalescence of *Jīva*, the soul of the individual, with Brahman, the soul of the universe, if we may say so. The *Praśna upaniṣad* deals with Brahman and the creation, and proceeds to treat of *Aum* as equivalent to *Paramātma*. So the *Mundaka*, after establishing that the *Gñāna-Mārga* is superior *per se* to the *Karma-Mārga*, equates *Aum* with *Paramātma*. The *Āitareya* represents the *Ātman* as the form of *Pragñāna*. The *Kēna upaniṣad* bringing the

external aspects of the manifested universe in contradistinction with Brahman, demonstrates the universality of Brahman. Compared with these shorter upaniṣads, the *Taittirīya*, the *Cāndōgya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣads* stand on a different footing. The *Cāndōgya* is an elaborate treatise on the various means for obtaining *Brahma Gñāna*. The *Vidyas* or *Upāsanas* dealt with here are all referred to by *Bādarāyaṇa* in dealing with *Saguṇa Upāsana*. It deals with the *Upāsana* of the *Pranava*, *Āditya*, *Sāvitrī*, *Gāyitrī*, *Brahma*, *Prāṇa*, and thus leads one to *Brahma Gñāna* of the direct type represented in the shorter upaniṣads. Similarly the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* is a long and more or less exhaustive treatise in philosophy and ethics. It deals with creation by *Prajāpati*, deals with *Varṇa-Āśrama-Dharma*, the *Karma-Mārga* and the *Gñāna-Mārga*, with the Vēdāntic formula of the unreality of *Jagat* and the eternity of Brahman, and through philosophical stories leads to the conception of Brahman as *Sat-Chit-Ānanda*, the eternal All-knowing-form of Bliss. It analyses the *Ātma* the rare possession of man and shows the way for a man to evolve it, so as to attain *Jivan-Mukti* and immortality. The upaniṣad which is the longest of the ten, characteristically ends with the exposition of *Gāyatrī-Upāsana*, as equivalent to *Brahma-Upāsana* in the eighth chapter. The peculiarity of the *Taittirīya upaniṣad* consists in its being an upaniṣad in the Vēdic style with the Vēdic *Svara*. The upaniṣad which consists of four sections starts with the elements of *Brahma-Vidya Upāsana*, and teaches the pre-requisites of *Brahma-Vidya*, such as *Brahmacarya*, devotion to the *Ācārya*, concentration, etc., and then develops the idea of Brahman through simple formulæ, showing that Brahman is the form of bliss (*Ānanda*). In the third section, the upaniṣad describes the practical manner in which Bhṛgu learnt the nature of Brahman from his father. Thus the three sections form a composite manual of *Brahma-Vidya*. The fourth section is the Vēdic text of *Brahma-Vidya*. This section is really the most important portion of the whole upaniṣad, though from the point of view of speculation, the three sections alone are looked upon

as the upaniṣad proper. On the other hand it is the fourth section of the *Taittirīya upaniṣad* known as the *Nārāyaṇa Valli* or the section dealing with *Nārāyaṇa*, the Lord of the universe that is the basis of all the upaniṣads, because herein are the *Mantras*, devoted to the description of and the realisation of Brahman. *Mantras* relating to the earth, water, fire, Āditya, Puruṣa, Śiva, etc., are collated. The upaniṣad contains the following important *Mantras* useful for the realisation of Brahman.

1. *Anuvāka* 12.—Starting with the statement that Brahman is the smallest of the smallest and the mightiest of the mightiest, and ending with the statement that Brahman is realised only through *Yōga* and *Sannyāsa*, for Brahman is in that sound *Aum* which is at the beginning and at the end of the Vēda.
2. *Anuvāka* 13.—*Paramātmā* is in the lotus of the heart, in its smallest shape for the convenience of the *Upāsaka* as Bādarāyaṇa says in the *Brahma Sūtras*, chapter I, section ii, sūtra 7, and sūtras 29 and 30.
3. *Anuvākas* 33 to 36.—*Aum* is Brahman. That is the object of *Upāsana* in *Gāyatrī*. The Regulation for *Gāyatrī Upāsana* is laid down in these *Anuvākas*, the invocation, the meditation and the conclusion.*
4. *Anuvākas* 39 to 41.—The meditation of Brahman as the All-purifier of the meditator, freeing man from all sins to which he is subject in life.
5. *Anuvākas* 65 and 66.—The equation of all aspects of material existence with the divine light in the Ātma or Self of man. This portion is the important *Mantra* for the self-purification and the self-realisation of man, the *Bramacāri*, the *Gṛhastha*, the *Vānaprastha* and the *Sannyāsa*.

* *Gāyatrī Upāsana* is extensively dealt with in the *Dēvī Bhagavata*, XI ; (16-24) and XII ; (1-9).

6. *Anuvāka* 68.—*Aum* is *Brahma*, *Vāyu*, *Ātma*, *Satya*, and all. *Brahma* is *Aum*, *Jyōti*, *Amṛta*, *Bhūh*, *Bhuvah* and *Suvah*. The meditation of *Aum* is the *sine qua non* of *Brahma Vidya*.
7. *Anuvākas* 78 to 80.—*Satya*, *Tapas*, *Sāma*, *Dāna*, *Dharma*, *Prajānana*, *Agnihōtra*, *Yagña*, *Mānasa* and *Nyāsa* are all different methods of *Brahma Vidya*. Each person takes to one or more of these methods according to his bent of mind. The goal of all is Brahman. The last *Anuvāka* says that the greatest *Yagña* is *Ātma Yagña*, and this *Yagña* is described in the language of the Vēdic technique. One who thus meditates on his *Ātma* as Brahman attains *Sāyujya*, oneness with Brahman. Bādarāyaṇa's highest points in his *Brahma Sūtras* are two :—

- i. *Saguṇa Upāsana* and *Nirguṇa Upāsana*, both lead one to *Brahma-Sāyujya*. In the language of the Vēda, *Karma* and *Gñāna* both lead to *Mokṣa*. So says the *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Karma-Yōga* leads to *Karma Sannyāsa* and *Karma Sannyāsa* creates *Gñāna* and *Gñāna* leads to *Mōkṣa* or the realisation of Brahman. [*Brahma Sūtras* (IV, iii, 1 and IV, iv, 1) read with (IV, iv, 22).]

- ii. *Mānasa Cāyana* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X. 5) and *Mānasa Agniṣṭōma* (*Taittirīya upaniṣad*, *Nārāyaṇa Valli*, *Anuvāka* 80) are equivalent to *Nirguṇa Upāsana*. (Vide, *Brahma Sūtras*, chapter III, section iii, sūtras 24 and 44 to 52.)

The doctrine of the Vēdānta as expounded in the three texts, the *Brahma Sūtras*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads* is that the aim of life is to obtain the knowledge of Brahman, as apart from and a part of the universe, including man, and attain *Mōkṣa* or *Brahma Sāyujya* through *Karma* and *Gñāna*, the two interdependent methods of *Dharma* as propounded in the Vēda. The duty of man during life is to realise the real nature of *Jagat*, *Ātman* and *Brahman*, and to

equate the *Ātman* with Brahman as laid down in the four *Mahā-Vākyaś* or the Profound Formulæ :

प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म

Pragnānam-Brahma (Wisdom is Brahman)

अहं ब्रह्मास्मि

Aham-Brahmāsmi (I am Brahman)

तत्त्वं असि

Tat-Tvam-Asi (That-Thou-Art)

अयं आत्मा ब्रह्म

Ayam-Ātmā-Brahma (This *Ātma* is Brahman)

and the *Mantra* for this realisation is

ओं-सोहं ब्रह्म

Aum, Soham, Brahma.

तत् सत् ॥

Tat-Sat. That is Truth.

ONAM—THE CHARACTERISTIC NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF MALABAR

BY L. K. BALARATNAM

Onam is an important annual national festival of the Malayālees of Kerala. It is celebrated with great pomp and splendour in order to commemorate the glorious reign of an old *Asura* King, Mahābali by name, whose reign is believed to have been a period of 'uninterrupted peace, plenty and prosperity'. He was always kind and genial, simple and straightforward, humble and sincere, liberal and virtuous. He had that plainness of mind which is the best attribute of an ideal king. He liked to be happy himself and he liked to see his country happy. Pity for the poor was bred in him even in those far-off days. The festival generally falls in the first month of every Malayālam year corresponding to the August-September of the English year.

At this part of the year, the south-west monsoon ceases after dowering the earth with fertility and charm. The glimmering landscape is clothed in a radiant garment of glowing sunshine and the natural spacious scenery is immensely imposing and attractive, and is eminently worth enjoying. The sheaves of paddy in the vast stretches of luscious green fields which spread out to the horizon and which are slanting and are of a golden hue, shine with well-developed grains. It is needless here to emphasize that anyone and everyone will admire and appreciate the supremely charming scenery—one of intoxicating splendour—at the waving fields beyond, at the sheeny clouds above, at anything in fact, within the range of vision, which is, to say the least, excellent. We are never, by the perversity of our nature, quite so happy. The scene is superb. Bigger, brawnier and more broad-shouldered men and women would be in the fields reaping the full-eared paddy. The soil is very fertile and many other plants, which are floriferous, thrive to the utmost on it and are cultivated like

a garden. The odriferous flowers stand infinitely beauteous in their full bloom and splendour tossing to and fro in the serene salubrious spity breeze and the vision will awaken in all a feeling of irresistible joy and immense pleasure and relaxation. 'The bees will be humming like an orchestra in the trees and the birds singing as though they are divinely drunk. Mother Nature seems as if renovated, and the entire earth is resplendent with luxuriant vegetation. In a word this season may well be said to correspond to what the Europeans call 'The Spring'.

" September ! all glorious with gold as a King
 In the raiment of triumph attired,
 Outlightening the summer, outsweetening the spring,
 It broods o'er the woodlands with limitless wing.
 A presence of all men desired."

Origin of the Festival

The story of the origin of this festival of Kerala, is an intensely interesting one. The kingdom of King Mahābali is believed to have been somewhere in the enlightened State of Travancore, now noted for 'its exuberant natural beauties' which it provides to the tourist, 'its old-world simplicity and its arcadian charms'. In all matters—religious, social, political—his illustrious reign was marked by veracity, virtue and philanthropy. It is significant to note here, that the people as well as the noble King were pained to veritable truth—in thought, word and deed—and without knowing anything of the tricks and deceits, the mishaps and miseries that go with poverty, which is a great enemy to human happiness, which destroys liberty which makes some virtues impracticable and others extremely difficult "lived in complete glee, free from all worries, dangers, diseases and infant mortality".

Seeing the divine munificence, the enormous and ever-increasing prosperity, and the temporary ascendancy of the King over the Gods, the Devas were filled with alarm and envy. They desired to crush the unbounded pride of this 'earthly potentate' and therefore earnestly entreated Lord

Mahāviṣṇu, the God of mercy and goodness in the Hindu Trinity, to comply with their desire. Thereupon, Viṣṇu approached and requested the sovereign—always happy and always sanguine—in the form of the dwarf Vāmana (Viṣṇu's fifth incarnation) as much territory as he could measure out by taking three strides in his vast kingdom, gratis. The King without realizing the danger to which he was exposing himself immediately granted him his desire.

In those days of peace—free from the turmoil, the struggles, the competitions—lands were legally transferred by word of mouth being hallowed out by a ceremonial act known as "*Poovum-neerum*". "*Poovum-neerum*" means flower and water. When the King was going to give the same, Śukra Mahārṣi the spiritual instructor of the King in all social as well as religious matters, understood the danger of the benignant gift and immediately transforming himself into a beetle, got into the hollow tail of the bell-metal vessel, used in Kerala from times immemorial for giving water, thereby prevented its flow so as to deliver the charitably disposed King from the extreme edge of being annihilated. Vāmana at once, like the hawk soaring in the skies swooping down on the partridge in a field of corn, came forward and taking a stick thrust it into the tail of the vessel thereby turning out the beetle. As a consequence of this, the beetle—Śukra Mahārṣi, in reality—lost his eyes and now Vāmana received his prayer, viz. the three steps of earth.

The monarch soon found to his utter dismay that he could not carry out his promise. For, Vāmana assumed an abnormally large size and measured with his first step the entire earth and with the second spanned the skies. He then asked the King for the third step of land. The King thereupon, without any reluctance whatsoever, asked him to place his foot on his own head and bowed. Vāmana now took the opportunity presented to him and placing his foot on the King's head pushed him down into the subterranean world, thereby satisfying the desire of the Devas, who on hearing the same greatly rejoiced. So passed from this earthly scene before

the eyes of all mankind, the King—looked upon with pity and tenderness by all. The people were terror-stricken, and, bellowing horribly, they hastened towards Viṣṇu, praying much for a boon. As a result, King Mahābali was given permission of revisiting his ancient domains and his subjects once a year, and the *Onam* Festival signifies it. This visit is on “the Srāvaṇa day in the month of Srāvaṇa, which is also reputed to be the date on which a new Kollam or Malabar Era was inaugurated in 824 A.D.”

It may not be out of place in this connection to recall the lines of the great poet ROBERT SOUTHEY, from his beautiful poem on *The Story of King Baly*, in which he observes :—

“ For though he was cast down to Pādālam,
Yet there by Yama's throne.
Doth Baly sit in majesty and might,
To judge the dead and sentence them aright.
And for as much as he was still the friend,
Of righteousness, it is permitted him,
Yearly, from those drear regions to ascend,
And walk the Earth, that he may hear his name
Still hymn'd and honour'd by the grateful voice
Of human kind, and in his fame rejoice.”

The Festival

During the week prior to the *Thiru-Onam* day, the Malayālees make a grand preparation—a preparation not witnessed at other times—to accord a tremendously enthusiastic welcome to the noble King, and signs of the following festival can clearly be seen in every Nayar house. The festival is chiefly confined to four days, and all people irrespective of their caste, creed and colour, from the ‘prince to the peasant’ accept them as such and spend the whole period of festivities in mirth and merriment. Clay images of the King are made on the day preceding the *Thiru-Onam* day and flowers strewn round it. Till the close of the festival, both in the morn and the eve, the Nayars worship the deity with great veneration and respect. It is said, that “at the time of the religious revival in Malabar, Nayars accepted the Hindu faith with warmth and devotion; and today one finds in Malabar no

more pious worshippers of the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon than the Nayers". In rich houses, clothes are presented to the junior members and relations and friends, on the morning of the festival, by the senior ones. There is a grand feast, the indispensable element consumed being the product peculiar of Malabar, *viz.* the Banana fruit. The impecunious people are also fed sumptuously by the rich.

Amusements

Amusements are those which give relaxation to the mind and act as a sort of recreation to it. On the day of the festival, at the very break of dawn, when the milk-man would be tinkling his way from house to house in fine attire, lively little boys and girls of different ages go out quite hale and hearty with a remarkably sweet and happy faces and a countenance expressive of a gentle and sympathetic nature, singing songs of melancholy joy, and rove about hither and thither for collecting flowers to adorn their houses. Clad in fine dress, and mid-day meal over, some batches of children of either sex depart from their homes for the purpose of enjoyments, seeking what is most agreeable and fitting to them.

The boys pursue ordinary games which give immense pleasure like foot-ball matches, *kuzhi-pandu*, *kayyamkali* and others. The grown-up indulge in games such as, hand-ball, personal combats, dice and cards. Games like hide-and-seek, *kaikattikali*,¹ *uzhingal*² and some others, which are characterized by spartan simplicity, constitute the leading forms of enjoyment for girls.

¹ A circular dance of the women.

² A swinging apparatus usually made of bamboo and attached to a horizontal branch of a tree.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA

BY S. S. SANTHANAM, M.A.

Introductory

A GLIMPSE of the system of administration and administrative bodies of local units of South India in ancient times is available in the *South Indian Inscriptions*. A study of the system and institutions of administration of these local units is useful, interesting and also necessary as providing materials for the reconstruction of ancient South Indian history. The inscriptions serve as the historical documents of those times, standing monuments proclaiming to the world facts and figures, in their own language, Candradithya varai, that is, 'till the Sun and the Moon endure', the refrain of almost every inscription. A mass of facts of first-rate historical importance could be gathered from the statements engraved on stones and copper-plates from which scholars can cull out the information for the history of ancient South India in its various phases. The historic find of the Uttaramerur inscription—the Parāntaka inscription—detailing some features of local administration compares very favourably with modern administration presenting brilliant conditions at that time, and not of aboriginal times. It embraces not only the ordinary subjects but also many which look very modern in character : Public Health, Public Works, Education, Hindu Religious Endowments, Agriculture, Rural Development, Irrigation, Public Information and Propaganda. A flood of light is thrown on many problems of vital interest even today : for instance, there is a reference in one inscription to the *Sakkiliki Darisanam kātti*,¹ that is the audience of God to depressed class members known as Chucklers. The problem of temple-entry and harijan

¹ *SII*, Vol. VIII. No. 151.

uplift agitating the minds of the people at present was also attempted to be solved in those days.

Madras or portions of Madras such as Mylapore, Vepery, Vysarpadi were in existence as early as the seventeenth century² A.D., as the inscriptions² refer to Tiru Mylapore Nagara and villages of Vysarpadi. Vepery and Triplicane were already known in history by the hymns of Alvars.

Much light is thrown upon the arrangement in local administration. In gifting cows, taking care to gift a bull along with it, the provision of water-shed with a well nearby,³ to the art of planning and formation of areas, in allotting shares to the respective demands there was meticulous care. There is a reference in one inscription⁴ to the allotment of a share of land to a medical man, *Vaidhya Vidhuku, pangu onrum*, suggesting how provision was made for every department of activity that served the needs of the people. Even the way in which the yarn for wick in the temple-lamp should be made finds a reference in an inscription.⁵ Milk is provided in another inscription for the cat which is kept to catch the rats which destroy the crops and grain as we also find in a Hoysala Inscription of the thirteenth century found in the famous Somanathpur Temple in the Mysore State.

Basic Principles of Local Administration

Concerning the basic principles of administration, an inscription⁶ states:—“*Pasipakai anaithum neengi mannuyir thazhaippa, manu varu peruka, madhavar thavamum, mangayar karpumathi anthanara kuthippukaiyumeethezhu thanpunalum methini valamum cathi yozhukkamum nithi yararamum pirazhathu, nirpa...*” meaning that hunger and enmity vanishing, let human lives prosper and the tradition of Manu progress, the Tapas of *Tapasyas* and the chastity of women and the flames of performance of Brahmins rise high, the caste rules, the course of

² *SII*. Vol. VIII, Nos. 534 and 537.

³ *Ibid.* No. 458.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, No. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, No. 566.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 30.

law and *Dharma* without any deviation stand erect. This idea could be taken as the basic principle of administration of local unit as it was said of the maxim of the Imperial one. The system of administration envisages the presence and progress of such benign influences as *Dharma*, Justice, and the traditional code of conduct at work as basic principles of its own.

Another inscription⁷ states, "*Vedhiararunthozhil vezhvir chenganal vlarppa, sruthuyum tamizhum tholvalam kuvala...*", meaning that the flames of the Brahmins' sacred performance to grow and Sruthi or Vedas and Tamil to move merrily on the land of the old.

One inscription speaks of "*mallai gnyalathu mannuyir kellam ellaiyil inpam*"...., meaning unbounded joy to humanity *en masse*.

In another inscription,⁸ it speaks of "*senthamizh vadakalai therinthunaruthu neethi kettu nipunaraki narumalar vadathirumakal puthalvar ethisaikkum villakakainsolalini thalithu vansolal marangadanthu 'ich...mangalathu candraditha vari yinithonga vadarajankar saippa Varunarajan neertralippa Devarajan Disai villakka ethisai makalum...muthamizh malai muzhuvathum munarntha, citr mozhipperia nattom*" meaning that learning and understanding both Sanskrit or *vadakalai* as it was known and Tamil acquiring knowledge of law and becoming proficient in it, becoming sons of Goddess of wealth with her fragrant flowers about her, shining forth in all directions, showering forth sweet words and avoiding hard ones, in such wise this *mangalam* till the sun and the moon endure; the God of wind to supply the air and breeze, the God of water sprinkle forth water, Indra or Devarajan the God to illuminate the directions, inhabitants of every direction....and possessed of the knowledge of literature of Tamil known as *Muthamizh*, stands the beautiful *nādu*.

The system of local administration has thus for its basic principles, a scrupulous observance of *Dharma*, the laws

⁷ *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 404.

⁸ *Ibid*. Vol. VII, No. 129.

of Manu—the code of conduct prescribed for the people and the performance of religious duties. Proud and lofty notions as the very tutelary gods of elements as water, wind, etc. taking kindly care of the locality are in evidence.

The secret of the undoubted and unique success of the ancient system of administration lies in the theory and practice of local administration in ancient South India. The Central Government's wishes were communicated and executed through the local administration to the units of local self-government. On the other side, the local bodies functioned with the co-operation and corporate spirit of those committed to their care.

Administrative Bodies

Of the administrative bodies of local units, four stand out prominently about which sufficient materials could be found in the inscriptions. And these are the *Nādu*, the *Mahāśabha* or the *Sabha*, the *Ur* and the *Nagara*. The *Nādu* appears to be the biggest local unit, for next to it higher in order, comes the *Maṇḍala* which is of provincial size. One inscription gives out, "*Immandalathu innattu*," meaning the *Nādu* or this *Maṇḍala*. These bodies appear to have, as the records of the inscriptions go to show, powers of taxation, and to have been entrusted with the duties of collecting tax which are due to the Central Government and to themselves, carrying out the mandates and the other administrative orders emanating from the king issued in a royal writ, "*Thiru volaṭ*" as the inscriptions say, and act as trustees of gifts, fulfilling the functions of the administrative assignees and custodians of religious and secular properties and administering public affairs of the locality. They maintain accounts and accountants as inscriptions speak of "*Ur Kannaku*" or accountant of *Ur*, accounts of other bodies. These bodies hold their sittings mainly and mostly in the temples in the place called "*Ambalam*", where they transact and discuss their business. Sometimes joint sittings of two bodies, the *Nādu* and the *Sabha*, or any other two are held.

These bodies seemed to exercise all the three functions of modern government, legislative, executive and judicial. That they exercised powers of legislation can clearly be seen in the Uttaramerur inscriptions which speak of the pot-tickets, of the committee system and the franchise qualifications. In my study of the inscriptions I found the terms, "*kuraivarakkoodi irunthu*" meaning, assembled in not less number, perhaps, referring to some idea as the modern conception of quorum, and the other term "*emmilisanthu*" or agreed among ourselves, that is equivalent to resolved unanimously. These terms indicate the legislative functions entrusted to these bodies. As for executive powers, these bodies as administrative powers ought to have been primarily in possession of such powers more than legislative powers. We find in the inscriptions records of kings issuing writs to these bodies whose behests these carry out loyally. As for judicial powers of these bodies references are to be had in some inscriptions pointing out possession of such powers. For instance an inscription⁹ refers to the allotment of a piece of land which was claimed to be a Brahmakṣētra, the *Inam* land of Brahmins, and the matter was referred to two persons to be adjudicated after obtaining the verdict of the *Nādu*. References there are to these bodies claiming penalty from persons who have taken wrong aims in hunting, thus proving the possession of judicial powers of these bodies. These will be examined in detail separately when referring to the administration of justice.

Let us now examine the working of each of these four bodies in the light of the inscriptions.

Nādu.—There is an inscription¹⁰ which refers a tax-free gift by the *Nādu* and written to that effect by the accountant of the *Nādu*. It speaks of "*iraiyiliaka (iraimenaing)*" the dues or the tax as free of tax. Another¹¹ speaks of "*Nattar iraiyilum variyilum kazhithu kodutha padiye*" meaning the *Nādu*

⁹ *SII*. Vol. VII, No. 759.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* VIII, No. 166.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 178.

gave the amount after deduction of tax and dues. A third¹² inscription reads as follows:—“*Nattuku pattirai padarvari vanthalam ivvoorku varushamthorum kolla nichcayitha panam pathu ozhinthu urdaiya nayinar śipathame veru onrum kolla kadavathallavenru nadaka nyamithu vittom. Ippadikku ivai nattu kanakku...ezhuthu.*” It means that though such dues as *pattirai* and *padar vari* are the incomes of the *Nādu* the ten *paṇams* which is fixed to be taken of this *Ur*, annually, is to be omitted and the *Nāyanār Śrīpādam* excepting, nothing should be taken so decided we the *Nādu* and so written the *Nādu* accountant. This inscription points out the taxing power of the *Nādu*. A fourth inscription¹³ refers to the rate fixed by *Nādu* in regard to distribution in temple.

A fifth inscription¹⁴ records, that “*Yadhavarayan Nattarpakkal ponnittu vitta Devadānam,*” meaning, *Yadhavarāya* making a *devadāna* after he had placed the amount of gold by *Nādu*. It can be said that whenever the local bodies take up or make over gifts tax-free either on its own initiative, or at the instance of individuals or chieftains, it takes up a portion of amount to defray the charges towards dues and tax on that property from the donors. The above is one such instance pointing out the custom obtaining in regard to this matter.

A sixth inscription¹⁵ refers to the tax due to the *Nādu*, “*nattu vari*” meaning dues to *Nādu*, emphasising the taxing power of the *Nādu*.

A seventh inscription¹⁶ records as “*nattu kanakkilum kazh ippithu,*” meaning deduction being made in the accounts of the *Nādu* referring to the accounts branch of the *Nādu*.

An eighth inscription¹⁷ refers to the sale of land by the *Nādu* to some *Bhattars* or *Brahmins* emphasising the power of selling lands by that body.

¹² *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 275.

¹³ *Ibid.* No. 400.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* No. 499.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* No. 514.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, No. 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* No. 25.

A ninth inscription¹⁸ speaks of vanigars or class of oil-mongers and Nagarathars doing a thing with the knowledge of *Nādu*. Was it because that the approval of *Nādu* also was needed, that the body, the Nagarathars do like that ?

A tenth inscription¹⁹ refers to "*Nattu viniyogam*" or dues to the *Nādu* while a eleventh²⁰ speaks of the *Nādu* undertaking to pay taxes and making a *Devadānam*.

A twelfth inscription²¹ refers to the fact that when gifting a particular piece of plot to a temple was disputed by Brahmins as their *Inam* lands, the matter was referred to for adjudication after the verdict of the *Nādu*, emphasising the judicial competence of the *Nādu*.

Sabha.—Owing to the Utteramerur inscriptions, much more is known of the *Sabha* than of the other local administrative bodies. A study of the inscriptions at length go to show that the *Sabha* possessed and exercised powers which belonged to other bodies as well. Such functions as making grants tax-free, "*irayiliyaka kuduthal*", which those bodies had, were exercised by *Sabha* also. The powers of *Sabha* as seen from the inscriptions are these.

An inscription²² refers to the Anbil Mahāsabha assembling in a temple, making over lands to the temple for persons who would sing the Lord's hymns and giving the same land tax-free.

A second inscription²³ refers to such a tax-free gift and also giving it in writing, "*ezuthi kuduthu*".

A third inscription²⁴ speaks of *Kozhiyur partru Sabhayarum Nattarum irayiliyaka thirukkaiyila neervarthu kuduthamayil*, meaning the *Sabha* of *Kozhiyur patru* along with the *Nādu* gifting tax-free by pouring water in the hands of the donee, the wonted method of gifting.

¹⁸ *SII*. Vol. VII, No. 537.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* No. 145.

²⁰ *Ibid.* No. 402.

²¹ *Ibid.* No. 759.

²² *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, No. 185.

²³ *Ibid.* No. 193.

²⁴ *Ibid.* No. 300.

A fourth inscription²⁵ records that the "*Irana dhirasa caturvethi mangalathu Mahasabhayom . . . koyilile kootta kurai-varak kudi yiruthu nammur yandu (sa) vathu kadamai thattundai ithattuku samudhayamana nilathile siruthu nilam vitrakilum kadamaithattu porulka rendu menru mahasabhayom sammāthithu . . . virrukdutha nilamavathu . . .*" meaning that the Mahāsabha of Iranathirasa Caturvedimangalam gathering in the temple in no less number assembled with a view to make up the default in paying tax agreed to sell towards that some lands of common hold even . . . and the land thus sold is . . .

A fifth inscription²⁶ states "*sabhayorai thandichu seivik-kadavarakavum*" meaning punishing the Sabha is to have the thing done.

A sixth inscription²⁷ refers to "*Alum sabhayar*" or the Sabha that rules or administers.

Another inscription²⁸ refers to "*Sabhayom ezhuthu*" meaning the inscription of the Sabha.

In the next inscription²⁹ it speaks of "*Rāja Rājanezhuthu . . . Sabhayar Kanka*" meaning that it was the writing of Rāja Rāja and the Sabha to note.

In a further inscription, it is stated, "*Mahāsabhayar pakkal vilai konda nilamavathu,*" meaning the land obtained from the Sabha by sale.

Another inscription³⁰ records "*Sabha iraikavalaka pon kondu,*" meaning the Sabha taking the tax amount in gold.

One inscription³¹ refers to what it calls "*Sabhayom engal podhu nilam,*" meaning the common land belonging to the Sabha.

Another inscription³² speaks of a request made to the Sabha and the latter acceding to the request.

²⁵ *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 303.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Vol. VII. No. 652.

²⁷ *Ibid.* No. 34.

²⁸ *Ibid.* No. 39.

²⁹ *Ibid.* No. 40.

³⁰ *Ibid.* No. 141.

³¹ *Ibid.* No. 513.

³² *Ibid.* No. 913.

The *Sabha* or *Mahāsabha* thus possessed powers of selling land, at its initiative, towards a gift or a deficit and its own default and whenever lands were required by persons for gifting to temples. The *Sabha* is seen to possess common property of its own. Its transactions are recorded and reduced to writing in some cases. Sometimes writ is issued by the king for the *Sabha* to note. The two important points that I have noted so far are that the *Sabha* is subject to punishment and also that the power of rule or administration is vested in the same body. About this point, I propose to touch later on. That the *Sabha* possessed legislative, executive and judicial powers is evident from the records shown above, in the assembly at the temple, in the responsibility for collection of tax, etc. and in the matter of administration of justice.

Ur.—The next local unit that exercised administrative functions was the *Ur* and in common with the other local bodies it exercised similar powers of taxation, tax-collection, etc. The inscriptions that enumerate the work of the *Ur* point out thereby the powers entrusted which will now be referred to.

An inscription³³ records after stating some gifts of land to the temple and instruction to the Brahmins of Tillai Nāyaka Caturvedi mangalam, “...innailathu kku vanthana uril etri erakkavum,” meaning that the dues from this land be in the name of the *Ur* and through that body.

A second inscription³⁴ states that, “*Urom...munbu ivvur udaikulappattu nadum pazhai kidakkaiyil ikkulam varavil azhithukidakkayalikkulum vettithiruthi kollumidathu (Ur) alanthakol sundara pandyanale alantha karpuravuku munbu irakkum kadamaiku ithu kadum odaiyumai veti thirukukaiyal... seitharulina thirumukapadiyele...itru ozhiya ponrari santhi-vikkhramapperu inavari...thariyirai thattarpattam epperpatta varikalum variyilum kazhihu engal puravilum kazhichu candradithyavari...*,” meaning that as on a former occasion

³³ *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 43.

³⁴ *Ibid*. No. 169.

the *Ur* or the village part on account of split, had come to a worse state and was lying in ruins and the tank was in a dilapidated condition without any income therefrom. King Sundara Pāndya personally instructed the renovation of the tank for irrigation facilities, out of tax after deduction of tax on gold and the *santhivikkirama* dues in kind, tax on looms, tax on goldsmiths and all such taxes including the dues of *Ur* or village body to last till the sun and the moon endure.

A third inscription³⁵ refers to fact of the *Ur* taking tax amount and making a land tax-free. It states, "*Thiruvanaik-kavudaiyan Nayanar kovil....Devakanmikaluk....Isanaikurai Uravarorm punjai nilavilaipramnana isaivu thittu kudutha parisavathu....itrai nalal vitru kuduthu kolvathana emmilisaintha vilaiporul....kaichelavara kondu vitu,*" meaning that the *Ur* of Isanaikurai agreeing among themselves to sell the lands to the authorities of the temple of Tiruvanaikoval Nayanār, sold the same by receiving the sale amount without themselves incurring anything towards the effecting of the sale-deed.

The next inscription³⁶ speaks of "*Ur kanaku*" or the account of the *Ur*.

A second inscription³⁷ speaks of "*Uravarku irandu paṇam,*" meaning two coins to the *Ur*. An inscription quoted about *Nādu* speaks of "ten paṇams" to *Ur*.

A third inscription³⁸ states of "*Tiru Mylapore Uravar, Pudupakkam Vepery, Vyasarpady intha kramangal,*" meaning the *Ur* of Mylapore along with the villages of Vepery, Vyasarpadi.

A fourth inscription³⁹ speaks of "*Uraridai vilai konda nilam,*" meaning the land obtained by sale from the *Ur*.

A fifth inscription⁴⁰ refers to a gift of the *Ur* to the temple of the locality.

³⁵ *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 338.

³⁶ *Ibid.* No. 339.

³⁷ *Ibid.* No. 486.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Nos. 534 and 537.

³⁹ *Ibid.* No. 547.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* No. 558.

A sixth inscription refers to the formation of an *Ur* with information to “*Varikuru seivar*” or the tax-assessors.

Another⁴¹ says, “*Uravarkum kalthacanukum olai kudathanupinapadi*,”...meaning that writs were being issued to *Ur* and the smith.

The *Ur* or the local administration of that name enjoyed, thus, powers of taxation, collection of tax, power to sell land and make gift to temples, the royal writ being often issued to the *Ur* either for executing repairs or for other purposes. There is a reference to accounts⁴² maintained by this body with an accountant.

Nagara.—The next local unit that we know from the inscriptions is the *Nagara*. This body would, according to its connotation mean a municipal unit or a body of urban area. The activities and affairs in respect of this body go to show that it was mainly a commercial corporation or a merchants' guild. It also stands to reason, that industry and commerce standing within the urban orbit more than the rural ambit, the *Nagara* looks like an administrative unit devoted to a special field, namely, commerce and industry. Specialisation which is claimed to a particular virtue and a special feature of modern times, can also be found to be at work in ancient South Indian administration, by the process of a separate body dealing with special affairs.

⁴¹ *SII*. Vol. VIII, No. 577.

⁴² *Ibid*. No. 777.

STUDIES IN BIRD MYTHS

New Series—No. V

On the Khārīās Aetiological Myth about the Evolution of Birds and Their Coloration

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

By reason of their physical characteristics, social organization and some common religion nations and practices, the Khārīās appear to have ethnic affinity with the Munda-speaking race.

The Khārīās speak Kherwari or the Khārīā language which is the principal member of the Munda family of languages—According to the renowned linguist Sir George Grierson, the Munda group of languages together with some other tongues, constitutes the “Austro-Asiatic subfamily” of the great Austrie family” of languages.

The Khārīās have their habitat in the Central hill ranges of the Mayurbhanja State of Orissa in the south-east and in the hills and plateau of the Singbhum, Manbhum and Ranchi districts of Chota Nagpur. They also dwell in the Sāmbalpur district and in fourteen out of the twenty-four feudatory States of Orissa. Their habitat also extends to the adjoining Central Provinces’ States of Jashpur, Udaypur, Raigarh, Sakti and Sarangarh in the middle to as far east as Bilaspur, Raipur, Durg and Chhindwara districts of the Central Provinces.

The Khārīās have an interesting mass of folklore. Included among the myths and legends which are current among them is their—Creation Myth which is worthy of a special study. It is as follows :—

After Ponomosor (or the Creator) had created the earth and the vegetation, he moulded two images out of clay, one being that of a man and the other that of a woman. He then

Vide, The Khārīās. By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., and Ramesh Chandra Roy, M.Sc., in two volumes. Ranchi. 1937. Vol. I, pp. 1-26.

kept these two images within the cavity of a hollow banyan-tree (*Ficus indica*). While remaining there, the milky sop of the tree dropped into their mouths, whereupon the two figurines became endowed with life. Here they grew up to maturity. Thereafter they left their tree dwelling and went to the hills, in the caves of which they began to dwell. At that time they were devoid of wearing apparel and lived on a diet of wild fruits and roots. Shortly afterwards, children were born to them; and, in course of time, the whole race of mankind became so numerous that they began to suffer from a great scarcity of food.

Creation of Birds

Being stricken with want of food, the men and women prayed to Ponomosor begging Him to provide them with another kind of food. Thereupon the Creator of the Khāriās raised a violent tempest which raged over the whole earth. The leaves of the trees were blown high up in the air and were metamorphosed into different kinds of birds according to the respective sizes of the leaves. Then men began to kill the smaller kinds of birds and to feed upon their flesh.

Colour of Birds

In the very beginning, all the birds were white in complexion. But Ponomosor soon sent them out to find out the traces of the missing mankind upon the earth. So (during their search for men), the Dhechua bird sat on Burat trees and, therefore, became black. The Kuhu bird, sometimes sat on trees and sometimes on the ground and, for this reason, became brownish black. The Lopi bird sat on the ground only and, therefore, became brown. These birds used to return every night to Ponomosor and to give Him an account of their respective day's work.

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(1) The Khāriās believe in the existence of an All-powerful Supernatural being whom they call Ponomosor and who is

Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 415.

Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 415-16.

believed by them to have created the earth, the vegetable world, the whole race of mankind, and the birds.

(2) They believe that Ponomosor made two images of clay one being of a man and the other that of a woman, both of which became endowed with life as soon as the milky juice of a life-giving banyan tree dropped into their mouths.

(3) The incident of the creation of a man and a woman from two clay-figurines bears some similarity to an analogous incident in the Creation Myth of the Santals of the Santal Parganas.

(4) The Khāṛiās are careful observers of natural phenomena. They observed that tempests arose and raged over the earth and that the leaves of the trees, being torn from their branches by the fury of the storms, flew high up in the air like birds. Their myth-maker has, therefore, represented Ponomosor as raising, by his wonder working power, a violent storm in which the leaves of the trees flew about high up in the air, and as metamorphosing these leaves into different kinds of birds by the exercise of his same miraculous powers.

(5) The Khāṛiās, being careful observers of natural phenomena, observed that the leaves of trees were of different sizes. Their myth-maker has, therefore, represented Ponomosor as having created birds of different sizes according to the respective sizes of the leaves.

(6) They also observed that different species of birds were of different colours. The Khāṛiā myth-maker has, therefore, described that the birds' different coloration was due to the fact that they had sat on different kinds of trees and on the ground while they were searching for the traces of missing men and women on this earth.

(7) We further find from the study of the foregoing Khāṛiān myth that the primitive Khāṛiās are expert fowlers and that they live upon the flesh of the smaller kinds of birds which they either snare or kill.

NOTES

THE VITTHALA TEMPLE AT HAMPI

MR. G. H. KHARE has pointed out that the *Tirtha Prabandha* of Vādirāja and inscriptions from Śaka 1436 (1514 A.D.) clearly point that the temple of Viṭṭhala had been completed and was in use from at least the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ Dr. C. Narayana Rao claims to have discovered the original image and shows that in Śrīmukha, Śaka 1435, Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya erected the *gōpura*.² Vādirāja is said to have been born in Śaka 1402, Śārvari (1480 A.D.) and a grant to Vādirāja is dated 1571 A.D.³ Therefore it might be conjectured that Vādirāja's pilgrimage took place in about 1500 A.D.

I wish to point out another clear reference to the Viṭṭhala temple in the Telugu work *Nārasimha Purāṇamu* of Haribhaṭṭa,⁴ who lived in about 1580 A.D. The ancestor of his patron Prōlugaṇṭi Ranga Pradhāni was one Tippa, the contemporary of Praudha Rāya.

ఆమంత్రింద్రుడు ప్రాధరాయనపు దండధీశ సంపత్కళా ।

సామగ్రి నిల్పినిల్లి మల్లి సుమ భాస్వతీర్థి విస్సాత్రిను ।

ద్దామాసాధ్యమహామహత్త్వమున సంధాయక్తిదోశ్యక్తివా ।

చామాధుర్యమునం బురావిభులతోఁజరించు వర్చస్వియై ॥

.....

కదలని ధక్తితోఁగట్టించె బంపా విరూపాక్ష దేవుని గోపురంబు ।

విశ్వపతికిఁగావించి యపణచేసె మహనీయతర భోగమంటంబు ।

మాల్యవంతుడు రఘుశ్మృతధూభర్తుకు ఘనకిరీటంబుపాయన మొసంగె ।

దశనందిచ్చె మతంగవీరన్నకుఁ గట్టాణి ముత్యాల కంఠమాల ।

¹ *Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 190.

² *Proceedings VIII Oriental Conference*, p. 725.

³ *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 35.

⁴ Published by the Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat, No. 18.

బ్రాహ్మణులని లెప్పనగ్రహారములయందు ।
 చిక్కులన్నింటిగీర్తులు పిక్కటిల్ల ।
 వెలసె దుర్మంత్ర సంతాప విధవజాత ।
 తిమిరకుముదారి యగుచు తిప్పశౌరి ॥

This Tippa is not Sālva Tippa who married Harima, the sister of Dēva Rāya, as this Tippa's wife is Bhairavāmba. This Tippa is said to have built the *gōpura* of the temple of Virūpakṣa and a *bhōga maṇṭapa* to Viṭṭhalapati; he gave a crown to Mālyavanta Raghunātha and a pearl necklace to Viranṇa of Matanga parvata. This Prauḍha Rāya is Dēva Rāya II (1419-1446 A.D.) and hence the temple of Viṭṭhala was probably begun by him.

S. S. S.

REVIEWS

Early Buddhist Jurisprudence (Theravada Vinaya Laws)-

(By Miss Durga N. Bhagawat, M.A. Published by the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 2. Price Rs. 3 or 5*sh.*)

THIS is a revised edition of a thesis which secured for Miss Durga Bhagawat the degree of the Master of Arts of the University of Bombay. Theravada Vinaya Laws, their origin, growth and administration would seem to be an appropriate title for a work in which is collected ample material relating to early Buddhist Jurisprudence. The Sangha for the working of which this penal code (the Vinaya Laws) is drawn up functioned as a republican state regulating and administering its own affairs and enforcing the willing obedience of its members to its decisions, even commanding the respect of kings who ceased to exercise jurisdiction over their subjects on their being admitted to the holy order, the laws of the Sangha being in consonance with those of the State. The Vinaya laws are traced by the authoress the Vedic times which held up the ideals of Brahmacharya and Brahmanism which were fused into the Arhat ideal improving upon the ancient monastic rules by entering into the minutest detail and securing royal support and approbation. Miss Bhagawat has renewed the Pāli study of the Vinaya which received a scholarly treatment at the hands of Oldenberg who brought out a standard edition of Vinaya with an analysis of the outstanding questions dealt with in the texts some years ago and we hope this work will stimulate scholars to carry the investigation to a further stage of completion.

P. S. L.

The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy.

(By Anagarika B. Govinda. Published by the University of Patna, Patna.)

IN this book which embodies the Readership Lectures of the Patna University, Anagarika B. Govinda very rightly paying

a tribute to the Vedic seers traces the origin of religion to the Vedic hymns, rich at once in creative art and rhythm of life and refers to the period of ritual and the early stages of Indian thought in which human effort to master nature was practically smothered as man was enslaved to this or that dogma. He who felt dissatisfied with the regime of ritual or of cult or of both retired to the forest in search of the light and harmony within his own self. According to Anagarika the four axiomatic truths of the Buddha which he imparted to the world present a new orientation to the outlook of life and contain the framework of the Buddhist Philosophy, furnishing the key to unlock the secret door of a joyous life. Buddha's discourses exhibit a scholastic element and a systematic arrangement even down to the least detail which is carried out with rigidity in the Abhidhamma. Abhidhamma is not mere philosophy, nor mere psychology like food without vitamins but it is a practical philosophy and practical psychology related to acts of every-day life. Its purpose is to indicate the direction and method by which truth could be realised individually, truth which ordinary intellect while it has never failed to solve it has, however, tended to block the way to realization. On the path of the Buddha we give up all thoughts of 'I' and 'mine' and put away all worldly cares and desires, develop '*bodhicitta*', the highest type of consciousness and see earnestly, intently, clearly conscious things like the body, sensation, mind and phenomena. We, then, experience the infinite relationship with all that exists, taking part in their deepest experience and sharing their sorrow and joy. For according to the Abhidhamma man is a potential lamp unto himself, a potential refuge unto himself without another refuge and can become the *Dhamma*. The aim of spiritual training in Buddhism is to change the entire life of man and to transform it into supreme harmony or freedom called *nibbana* in which greed, hatred and ignorance are wholly absent and are replaced by charity, compassion and enlightenment.

P. S. L.

The Heart Doctrine of Sṛī Bhagavad Gīta and Its Message: and Srimad Bhagavad Gīta of Bhagavān Sṛī Kṛishṇa. (By R. Vasudeva Rao and T. M. Janardhanam. *Suddha Dharma Tract* Nos. 3 and 4. Price Re. 0-4-0 : 0-14-0 Paper, Rs. 1-8-0 Boards, respectively.)

THE *Suddha Dharma Mandalam Association* have published two handy brochures, *Srimad Bhagavad Gīta*, tract No. 4, and the *Heart Doctrine of Sṛī Bhagavad Gīta and Its Message*, tract No. 3, by Vasudeva Rao assisted by Janardhanam. The *Bhagavad Gīta* or the song of songs appeals to every nation and every individual. Its precious cultural value, its teachings, its thought-provoking doctrines, its assistance in meeting legitimate attempts to understand and interpret the sayings of the divine are such as would appeal to every member of the human family. It is translated into all languages and the message of the *Gīta* is not controlled by space, time, country or dimension. Mr. Vasudeva Rao says that the *Gīta* is about one hundred and thirty centuries old, a view for which we have not been able to find sufficient support. It may be that the teachings or the instances referred to in the *Gīta* are as old as the Āryan families which inherited that tradition but whether the composition of the *Gīta* is quite so old is a matter on which we should seek further enlightenment.

S. S.

The Mahābhārata—Udyogaparvan. (1) Fascicule 9. (Edited by Vishṇu S. Sukthankar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona, 4.)

WE most heartily congratulate the Committee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on bringing out regularly the several parvans of the *Mahābhārata*. The part under review consists of one hundred chapters of the Udyogaparvan. The editorial note gives details which mark out this fascicule from the others on those chapters of the Udyogaparvan, but we invite the attention of the readers to the chapters forty-two to forty-five dealing with the Sanat-Sujata sub-parvan. Mr. S. K. De

remarks that the stories of the *grantha* version of the Udyogaparvan is the northern recension as it contains an additional passage belonging to the northern recension while no passage characteristic of the southern text is to be found in it. We await the other volumes with eager interest.

S. S.

Philosophy of the Self. (By G. R. Malkani. The Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner.)

PHILOSOPHY of the self is nothing but a process of refreshing our intellectual perception of the self in a form of spiritual seeing or deepening of our insight. The author attempts to bring out in these lectures originally delivered at the Indian Institute of Philosophy the most important character of ultimate reality which must have the character of the Self and which is not capable of being known as object but must be self-known, immutable, infinite and limitless. Value of philosophy lies in the disinterested spirit of reason with which we seek to render intelligible the entire field of our experience and not in any self-conclusions. Truth or rather the realization of it has a direct bearing upon our spiritual well-being and our ultimate destiny. The author argues upon the various ideas which confront man's mind and discusses ontological and epistemological problems.

The proof of the existence of God is not direct but mostly indirect. If we have no experience of the most perfect being, if we have no validating experience, any concept of God would be really meaningless. The business of philosophy is a more live business for it is not to analyse concepts, but to analyse our experience and is intended to lead to a knowledge of the super-sensible.

Can the ultimate ground of all reality be known on the principles of reasoning? Reason has a secondary place only because the philosophical theories are not rationally constructed but are the outcome of certain spiritual or personal intuitions. Reason may be a means for the elucidation of this intuition

but it cannot be a substitute for it. It is because our intuition goes beyond the sensible and accepts a higher reality, that any metaphysical problem arises at all. While therefore we analyse and criticise our sensible experience or empirical knowledge in general it is equally important that we should consciously direct our attention to that higher form of intuition which would not be open to criticism and which would in fact transcend any criticism whatsoever.

In successive chapters the author speaks on the self-awareness, grades of subjectivity and says that the self can only be realised in an intuition which realises the unity of knowledge being without distinction. The ultimate reality is the self. The author then deals on the various states of consciousness, on the great problem of immortality of the soul, which is an accepted fact but cannot be proved definitely since the question is whether there is a soul? In the light of European philosophy the author discusses various problems and with the final chapter on 'The Individual and the Absolute', he concludes his illuminating philosophical study of the Vedanta with the following words: "The true God is within us. It is the self that is the ground of the appearance of all things. There is no real creation anywhere. There is only illusory appearance. This self is by its very nature blissful. Whatever we do or do not do, we are moving and living in the bliss, which is inalienable from our being. It is only ignorance of our true self which divides us from the bliss."

P. B. R.

Where Theosophy and Science Meet, Vol. IV. (Edited by D. D. Kanga. Published by the Adyar Library Association, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 2-4-0.)

Where Theosophy and Science Meet is the last volume on this interesting subject, the others of which have been reviewed in these pages and is dedicated as a loving and humble tribute to H. P. Blavatsky on the occasion of the semi-centenary of the publication of the Secret Doctrine. This series is supposed

to lead man to understand true happiness, to find out why he is miserable and restless when he is awake or is calm and peaceful when he is asleep, why he feels overcome at the thought of climbing a high steep hill or a long flight of steps to a flat without a lift and finds the same task easy and smooth or even forgets that he has come to the end of his journey if he is at the same time deeply engaged in thinking out an intensely difficult problem, why he frets and fumes or is perplexed, when he sees himself in the looking glass whether he is the person reflected and the reflection in the mirror is himself and enters a field of exploration which is new and fascinating and to which there is no limit. The old order changeth yielding place to new. Why is the old order crumbling and a new age being born? There are seven stages of evolution of man through the divine, the monadic, the atmic, the buddhic, the mental, the astral and the physical planes but when this field of evolution at the sevenfold Universe is actually on the evolution of humanity, the universe is fivefold. We are passing through the evolutionary cycle and we are now passing through the unalloyed mental phase of civilization in the fourth round and we see before our very eyes the dire results of the combination of the conquest of science coming as agents of enslavement, exploitation and destruction by perversion of scientific knowledge and achievement in the wholesale slaughter of modern warfare, by starvation in the midst of plenty and the mechanization of man's mind and soul. It is to be hoped that there will be a good school of evolution and civilization will not still merge into the chaos of suffering and enslavement. The place of intuition and the instinct in the method of research should not be forgotten. Intuition is alike to instinct as being some subtle and unawakened form of instinct. This is to be seen from a new angle and psychical research has an important part to play in man's well-being.

S. S.

Foreign Notices of South India, from Megasthenes to Ma Huan. (By K. A. Nilakanta Sastry. *Madras University Historical Series*, No. 14. Price Rs. 4-8-0 or 7s. 6d.)

WE have gone very carefully through this source book of early South Indian History and assert without hesitation that it presents in a handy volume the numerous foreign notices of South India including Ceylon scattered in several books and publications, hitherto not easily available to the reader. We hope this will soon be made available in the several vernaculars of South India.

S. S.

Reflections on Indian Travels. (By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Messrs. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8-0.)

THIS is an arresting book, a kind of historical and geographical dictionary on India. Close printing and absence of marginal notes and foot-notes detract from the value of a work which is bound to be helpful and which is cheap for its price. Casual inspection and reference show that the book gives an intelligent account of the various items dealt with in it.

S. S.

The Successors of the Śātavāhanās in the Lower Deccan. (By Dineschandra Sirkar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, Calcutta.)

DINESCHANDRA SIRKAR is an erudite scholar specialized in Ancient Indian History and Culture. The present volume on the Successors of the Śātavāhanās in Lower Deccan is aptly inscribed to Dr. Syamaprasad Mukerjee, sometime Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Dr. Sirkar develops the views originally expressed in his monographs and papers and embodies the recent investigations on ancient Indian history in the addenda. The map of the Dakṣiṇāpatha is illustrative and useful. It is interesting to observe that an inscription of the fifth century (*E.C.*, XI, p. 142) discovered in

the Davanagere Taluq of the Chitaldrug Distriet speaks of a Kekaya prince, Śivaskandavarman who claims for his family matrimonial connections with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku line. The readers of the *QJMS.* are familiar with many of the views which are discussed and elaborated in this book but we may refer to one or two matters. The author believes and quite rightly that the inscriptions found in the south are those of Aśoka establishing the southern boundary of the Mauryan Empire in the days of Aśoka though Kāñci lay outside that Empire and that in the time of Aśoka the Mauryan frontier was probably on the river Pennar near Nellore and Chitaldrug, but had not gone farther down. Kuntala comprised the southernmost districts of the Bombay Presidency and the northernmost districts of modern Mysore and perhaps included the Kannada-speaking areas of Madras with the exception of the coastal region. Sirkar refers to Kuntala and Karnāta using them as synonyms and his statement in the foot-note on page 216 that "Vijayanagara belonged to the Kuntala Viṣaya of the Karnāṭaka country" agrees with the long held view that the Vijayanagara Empire was a Karnāṭaka empire. Sirkar also believes in the story of the migration of Candragupta Maurya to Mysore with his teacher Bhadrabahu Srutakevali and seeks a confirmation of it from *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 263, which says that Nagarakhandā was protected by Candragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kṣatriyas. Though this is a record of the fourteenth century support for it is gained from the discovery of the inscriptions of Aśoka at Siddapur, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Ramēsvara in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. On the origin of the Kadambas Sirkar says that the traditions referred to are of little historical value and that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty was named Maurya and the family name had an accidental connection with the Kadamba tree and nothing more and appears to rely for his conclusions on totemistic affinities. The problem concerning the origin of the Kadamba dynasty requires further investigation.

S. S.

India as Described by Early Greek Writers. [By Baij Nath Puri, M.A., B.A. (HONS.). Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.]

WE recommend this interesting volume, handy for reference and useful to students of ancient Indian history to all Universities and libraries. It is carefully edited and well got up.

S. S.

Sind's Changing Map: Settlements in the Lower Indus Basin (Sind); Historical Geography of Sind, Part III: Identification and Description of Some Old Sites in Sind. (By Maneck B. Pithawala, B.A., B.Sc., L.C.P., F.G.S. Research Certificate, University of London, Victoria Road, Karachi.)

Sind's Changing Map is an album containing fifty-one old and rare maps of Sind collected by the author with a general note on page ten and a critical and explanatory note for each map. Map 1, the oldest available, shows the course of the Indus; map 2 is a revision of map 1 with some reliefs in addition. Maps 3 to 14 are Islamic maps taken from different sources belonging to the period of the Arabs: the remaining ones give the situation and various conditions of Sind from 1569 to the present day.

A synthetic treatment of the trends of the history and progress of human settlements in the region of the Indus bearing on the geographical features is dealt with in 'Settlements in the Lower Indus Basin,' itself a reprint from the *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*. The first part relates to the influence of political, climatic, geomorphological, tectonic and hydrographical changes in the region and the second with the study of population problems. The map of Sind showing the density of population makes interesting study.

Historical Geography of Sind, another reprint from the *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, in which is given Pithawala's study on the geographical analysis of the Lower Indus Basin with special reference to the history and progress

of human settlement in that region with a correlated account of the history and geography of Sind from the post-Arab and other native dynasties to the conquest of Sind in 1843 by the British. A continuation of this book with special reference to the physical basis or conditions is given in another brochure: "Identification and Description of Some Old Sites in Sind", in which are described briefly and vividly twenty-five old sites in Sind, four of which have altogether disappeared from view, no relic of them—not a stone or a brick—being traceable with any certainty in the valley. Bukkar Island, Sehvan and Jherruck, the three old sites alone stand as tokens of a river which is restless in a region that knows no permanency of settlement. We eagerly await Mr. Pithawala's further publications of the regional researches in Sind.

H. R.

Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture. (By D. R. Bhandarkar. Published by the Registrar, University of Madras, Madras.)

DR. BHANDARKAR'S lectures under the auspices of the University of Madras, Sir William Meyer Lectures 1938-39, relate to the Ancient Indian Culture of Pre-Mauryan India in which after an inspiring discussion on the Ārya, Dāsa and Śūdra he proceeds to the antiquity of the Vēdas with reference to the Ṛg Vēda which tells us both about the Āryan and non-Āryan cultures. He considers that the Āryans were settled in the Punjab, the Saptasindhus, and that the composers of the Ṛg Vēdic hymns were living side by side with the people of the Punjab, Afghanistan, Arachosia and Iran. In the struggle for the supremacy of the Āryas, the Dāsas are described as black in colour, inconsistent in structure with the distinctly fair Āryas. It may be the original Dāsas were connected with the Iranian race or it may be that *varṇa* is understood by different authors in different ways. After all *varṇa* may mean 'order, confraternity', any caste as regarded by the authors of the Vedic index. Dāsa was later used to denote a foreigner

or aboriginal and Śūdra which occurs only once in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* seems to be used in contrast with Ārya suggesting a foreigner or an aboriginal as distinct from the Āryas. The expression Śūdra has nothing to do with the culture or absence of it and may be used for a person who is perhaps assimilated or has no Āryan culture and is a foreigner. One of the facts of the Āryan culture which sought its dissemination throughout the length and breadth of the country peopled by the non-Āryans is the Āryan faith in one Universal Soul. Sanskrit developed on the Āryan tongue except amongst the Dravidians and became more predominant. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the language in the Ṛg Vēda borrowed words from the Dravidian tongue and that phonetically also it was affected by it though the superiority of Sanskrit remained. There are undoubtedly abundant words of foreign origin in the Atharva Vēda and perhaps traces of it in the Ṛg Vēda but to what extent it was due to the influence of non-Āryan tongues is a matter which requires further exploration. The lectures about the Braminisation and Indianisation are interesting. The Rsis were active but not aggressive propagators of the Brahminical faith and Agastya apparently established himself in South India across the Vindhya. Rākṣasās and Vānarās so called, are also perhaps non-Āryan tribes in alliance with the Brahmins following the Brahminical form of worship and religion. A Dharwar inscription refers to the ruling family as scions of the Bali race and lords of the Kiṣkindha, best of towns, bearing the device of an ape on the banner (cf. Kapidhvaja kingdom).

Dr. Bhandarkar says that the Hindu society was not so inelastic formerly as now and that there was no rigid compartmentalisation of the four castes from the days of the Ṛg Vēda. Hinduism was a non-proselytising religion : Promotion to a higher caste or a degradation was, however, common as illustrated in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* and we may observe that instances were not rare even in the Vijayanagara times. Hinduism absorbed the communities living around to its fold, in matters of religion, worship, beliefs and daily life.

When India became somewhat self-centred and lost the enterprise for managing her colonies outside the shores of India itself she lost also the qualities of proselytisation and with the Muslim inraids into India Hindu society was on its trial. It was the difficult circumstances of the time which made caste somewhat rigid and it has now become a degrading, crushing, devitalising superstition. The sanctity of the cow is throughout continued though there have been instances of the sacrifice of bulls and barren cows with horses and rams and of bulls for food. Opinion is not uniform concerning the use of the cow's flesh and we would not harbour the opinion that the Smṛtis of Manu and Yāgñavalkya permitted the use of the flesh of cow for food. The name of Dr. Bhandarkar and the auspices under which he lectured are sufficient guarantee of the excellence of scholarship and the value of the material contained in them and we have no doubt that this volume will be sought after with great interest by all students of ancient Indian culture.

P. B. R.

The Munro System of British Statesmanship in India.

(By K. N. Venkatasubba Sastry, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.)

Published by the University of Mysore, Mysore.)

THIS excellent work of Dr. K. N. V. Sastry published by the University of Mysore with a Foreword from the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, scholar, statesman and patriot, is an attempt to assess with the aid of contemporary and later documents, the services rendered by Munro to England and India. Some of the documents are printed for the first time and all are chosen with discernment and conviction. They place Munro as the founder of the liberal school of Indian administration, *par excellence*. Munro was more than the founder of the ryotwari system; his name had passed on to legends; his compassion, his understanding of the Indians and their modes of life, his magnanimous and his sleepless efforts to help the 'natives of the soil' are well worthy of

imitation by his countrymen. Dr. Sastry, as suggested even in the Foreword, does not lack in hero-worship or enthusiasm in the praise of his ideal; but it is a pardonable pride in the facts and circumstances of the case. For the administration of Munro deserves all that: however, it is a far cry from Munro who regarded liberty of the press as extinct in the Company's foreign rule to the modern times and there could never be an echo of it in the mind of him who was responsible for the Declaration of August 1917. Nevertheless, to have hailed the emergence of high principle when nothing was yet clear on the horizon of Indian governance, to have formulated the aim of British Policy as the ultimate good of the Indian people when that policy was still strongly coloured by mercantile standards and to have secured recognition in the Character Act of 1813 and indirectly in that of 1833 for many corner-stones in the edifice of Empire—that is a title to imperishable fame.

Munro's ideas may be found in the Bara-mahal records in the Zilla Dictionary. He avoided using force if possible: he would like to lower the assessment to conform actually to past collections: he was anxious for the prosperity of the ryots and desired a moderate land rent: he was opposed to frequent alterations in it: he wanted direct settlement with the actual land-holder without middle men. Assessments should have reference to lands in actual cultivation, with remissions during famine. There must be a right of adjudication of individual ryots and the collectors must be responsible: there must be essential justice and there must be freedom for people to follow their respective avocations: native servants should be encouraged: army must have its place but subordinate to civil authorities. He viewed Indian questions with a fresh mind, feeling apparently that a good government led to self-government, that is a government by them for themselves under European supervision which according to him was an excellent one. Macaulay said: "I observe with reverence and delight the honourable poverty which is the evidence of a rectitude firmly maintained amidst strong temptations and Colonel Munro of Madras, who knew the people of India

probably better than any one of his contemporaries, asserted the truth, which was then almost a heresy to most of the Company's servants." The Index is copious, the Bibliography is full and the work is very carefully and intelligently prepared.

S. S.

The Travancore Tribes and Castes, Vol. II. (By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A., Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum.)

VOLUME ONE was a valuable contribution on the lines of inquiry set on foot by Risley, Census Commissioner in India, nearly forty years ago, and the present completes the task then undertaken. *Anthropological Researches in India* by Baron Van Eickstedt, in his very interesting Introduction, deserves special mention. In pre-Christian periods Indian races of the Deccan are rarely referred to. For the first time Herodotus speaks of dark coloured and curly haired warriors from South India apparently having in mind the Tamils of the Melanid race. Till the eighteenth century any knowledge of India outside was based mainly on the reports of foreign travellers. In the nineteenth century, detailed work and some kind of investigation started. There has never been found real Andamanese Negritos in India, though one of the basic elements of the Malids and Negritos may well have a common root, and there have never been Australians in India though in India as everywhere else races went in their process of développement through an australiform stage and the characteristic of a certain old stage of descent must not be confounded with those of a recent biological type. Such and similar observations in these volumes are well worth bearing in mind by students of Ethnology and Anthropology. In India there is a great need for us to study the Homo-indicus, the melanids and the jungle-dwellers, by a study of whose racial structure and language alone their origin could be solved satisfactorily or with some certainty. Risley's classification of Indian races is as follows :

(i) Turko-Iranian type, (ii) Indo-Āryan type, (iii) Scytho-Dravidian type, (iv) Āryo-Dravidian or Hindustani type, (v) Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type, (vi) Mongolid type and (vii) Dravidian type. The beginning of the twentieth century unfolded the fact that philological speculations were no longer tenable in racial classification and typological units and men were measured and treated not only as exhibits of a linguistic phenomenon but as men and culture began to break away from the study of Sanskrit and slowly one perceived that āryanising of India, though an event of enduring significance in the linguistic sphere, was in the cultural sphere only a transitory process with an inner dynamic of its own which gradually brought the original people and also the old races almost completely to the top again. So it is said that a thin Āryan culture veneer alone remains today over the true old Indian culture which does not know the worship of the Āryan gods and teaches the worship of its own and old Dravidian gods. The questions which arise generally for consideration may be said to be these:—

What anthropological rôle is played in India by the so-called jungle tribes; how far did and does their expansions reach, what somatical characteristics and which types do they exhibit? Can genuine Mongolid admixtures be found in the north-west Deccan, of which racial components are those composed, and which linguistic and cultured relations do they show? Do the dark South Indians show an admixture of Negro or Negrito traits, and what is their biological relation to the northern Indian groups? Which typological racial division can be got after this for the whole sub-continent and in which relation do the great typological units stand to the linguistic and cultural facts, particularly to the Dravidian languages and those who originally spoke of them? The interesting answers to these can be read with profit in the pages of the work under review.

S. S.

Indian States and Responsible Government. (By K. R. R. Sastry, Reader, Law Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5 Inland ; 7s. 6d. Foreign).

THE work before us is dedicated to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir T. B. Sapru, a distinguished scholar, a perfect gentleman, an eminent lawyer and a veteran statesman. In the tessellated pavement of the Indian Empire the Indian States form the tesserae and any union or federation of an intervening type could not be evolved and constituted without the Indian States forming a component part. There are practical difficulties in bringing Indian States on one uniform formula in an Indian federation ; and likewise there are practical difficulties in having a British Indian province of the federation placed on an equal footing along with the others with respect to administration, finance, defence, and many other matters which would be too complicated to develop. This book attempts at an analysis of the difficulties underlying the Indian federation of the future. We have no doubt that with progressive administrations in the Indian States and reformed legislatures as in Mysore, Cochin, Travancore, Baroda and recently in Aundh it ought not to be difficult in shedding mediæval autocracy and forming a type of modern democratic State, joining hand in hand with the British Indian provinces in an All-India federation.

S. S.

Sarkarism. (By Subodha Krishna Goshal, M.A. Published by Messrs. Chuckervetty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 0-8-0.)

SARKARISM is a brochure on the ideas and ideals of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, on man and his conquests and based on lectures delivered at Suhrit Library and elsewhere. The discussions of the ideas contained in the book would take us outside the scope and limits of this Journal.

S. S.

Nādi Jyothisha or The Stellar System of Astrology. (By Meena. Copies can be had of C. R. Srinivasa Rao, Satyavijayanagaram P.O., Arni, S.I.R. Price Rs. 2.)

AFTER some preliminary introduction concerning the science of Astrology, we are assisted by the author in casting the birth chart, calculating the balance of the Dasa, fixing the Lagna and determining the Bhāvas of the horoscope so cast. The Navāmsas are then discussed and we are afterwards told of the circumstances in which the planets give results benefic or malefic to the native. Chapter four is important as indicating how the bhāvas should be examined. Nādi granthas contain astrological charts cast by famous astrologers with an insight into the knowledge of the circumstances determining the planetary and stellar influence on human beings. The author's note on Lagna *sphuta* from *nakṣatra*, *vāra* and *lagna* is helpful like the work to the ordinary layman is obtaining a working knowledge of the science of Astrology. It is hoped the second volume which the author proposes to bring out very soon will still further enhance the value and usefulness of the science for ordinary persons. The dedication to Sri Raghothama Theertha whose *chēla* the author claims to be is apt.

N. I.

SANSKRIT

The Unādi Sūtras in Various Recensions. (*Madras University Sanskrit Series*, No. 7. Edited by T. R. Chintamani. Price Rs. 4-0-0.)

THIS is the fourth part of the *Unādi Sūtras in Various Recensions* published for the first time and edited by the editor, with the assistance of Bramhasri Rao Bahadur S. K. Padmanabha Sastrigal. The editor is of opinion that there are similar commentaries between Perusuri and that of Jñānendra Sarasvati on the Unādi portion of the Kaumudi and that each of these had looked into the works of the other. The critical edition indicates the difference in the readings of the texts. The commentaries are in metrical form. The author takes us

through all the processes of derivation citing the *sūtras* on which a particular *prakriya* is based: further the author attempts to give the forms that could be derived from the word, whose derivation is sought to be explained in the *sūtra* and the author has succeeded in his scheme.

S. S.

Kaśyapasaṃhitā. (By Vṛiddhajivaka. Edited by Vaidya Jāḍavjī Trikamji Āchārya and Somanāth Śarmā of Nepal. *Nepāl Sanskrit Series* No. 1. Published by Jadavji Trikamji Ācharya, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.)

THE text is based on a palm leaf manuscript recovered in fragments by the editors; the first eighteen and the closing chapters are wanting to complete this work. Even in the parts available a large number of verses wholly or in part is lost and the editors have not found it easy to restore the missing words or lines. The elaborated and scholarly introduction traces the development of Indian Medicine during twenty-five centuries, illustrating how India was in the vanguard of civilization and led the way in the healing art. Though fragmentary this work which covers a very large field is bound to be useful to Indian doctors.

P. S. L.

Ṛg Vēdavyākhyāya of Mādhavakṛtā. (Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.)

THAT eminent Sanskritist Dr. Kunhan Raja has edited for the Adyar Library *Ṛg Vēda Vyākhyā* of Mādhavakṛta which has its own merit and it would be somewhat of an impertinence to say anything about the work. Who is this Mādhava who claims to be the author of *Ṛg Vēdavyākhyā*? He is not Mādhava the son of Venkataraya who has written a commentary on the *Ṛg Vēda* and who has also written another commentary called *Ṛgārthadīpika*. What is the date of this commentary? These are intriguing questions on which unfortunately light is still

to shed. We hope Prof. Kunhan Raja will find it possible to fix up these problems for us.

S. S.

KANNADA

Pragatipara Mysūru—(By C. K. Jayasimha Rao, Mysore.)

THIS handy and useful tract in Kaunda marks the remarkable progress of Mysore through the last fifteen years under the statesmanship of Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, during whose administration Mysore has advanced from strength to strength. Got up by a young and enterprising Mysorean, deserves every encouragement.

S. S.

TAMIL

Boudhamum Tamilum. (By M. S. Venkataswamy, 59, Karneesverer Street, Myalpure, Madras. Price Rs. 1-8-0.)

THE purpose of this work is to give a brief, critical account of the rise, growth and decline of Buddhism in the Tamil land. Having had something to do with Buddhism in Mysore, I can visualise the difficulties of an author in a work of this kind. All available sources, philological, literary, historical, epigraphical and archæological are made use of to portray the glory of Buddhism in South India in mediæval times. The Buddhist period ranged in the Tamil country from the time of Aśoka to the twelfth century A.D. and the message of the Buddha spread from Kañcīpuram all round. The book describes the seventeen Buddhist centres of learning which eventually passed into the hands of the Hindus when Buddhism disappeared from the land by the Hindus absorbing its essential doctrines, by adopting its worship of the Banyan tree, by organising *maṭhās* and by developing and establishing the Advaita system of philosophy. It was a land where about twenty-four enlightened Buddhist personages flourished from time to time spreading

the gospel and encouraging the mother-tongue. Six Buddhist works in Tamil considered classic are referred to and quotations from the commentaries of Virasolya and Nilakeṣi are given in an appendix, showing how Buddha inspired at that distant time universal respect from all Tamil people. The influence of Pāli on the Tamil language is also discussed. The appendices which nearly occupy half the size of the book are carefully prepared to illustrate the subject-matter of the work, a remarkable contribution supplying a gap in the field of the Tamil Nād.

P. S. L.

Divyasuri Caritam. (By V. Srinivasachariar. Edited and Published by K. Devanathachariar, "Tulasi Bhavan," Chamarajapet, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 3.)

THE late Mr. Srinivasachariar, the well-known Tamil Vidwan of the Mysore State, is the author of *Divyasuri Caritam*, a title evidently borrowed from an earlier Sanskrit work of that name giving an account of the lives of all the twelve Āḷwars. Many years ago he composed "Śrī Ranga Rāmānuja Nōōtrandādi" and at the bidding of his guru who was pleased with this performance he undertook writing the work under review at the very fag end of his life and did not live to see it in print. His son and grandsons, Mr. Devanathachariar and his sons, chips of the old block, did not, however, let it lie in oblivion and got it published as a serial in the *Vedānta Dipikai*, a Tamil monthly.

Unlike the Sanskrit *Divyasuri Caritam* this Tamil poetical composition does not confine itself to the Āḷwars but includes the lives of Uraiyr Nāchiar, Śrī Desikan and of the ācāryas with the exception of Uyya Kondār and Maṇakkālnambi. The lives of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava saints have a fascination of their own and the author has enhanced the value of the work even by risking the resentment of the orthodoxy by trimming the traditional account of certain incidents detracting from the high prestige of the Āḷwars. The style is elegant quite in

keeping with the matter. The excellence of this high class work is appreciated in reading it.

P. S. L.

TELUGU

History of the Kammas, Part I. (By Kotha Bhaviah Chowdary. Published by the author, Sangamjagarlamudy. Price Rs. 2.)

KAMMAS were war-like people and yet tillers of the land owning large estates in contrast with Velamas and Baliyas. We cannot say that they are Śūdras nor can we say they were Kṣatriyās, but it looks as if they are the counterpart of the Reddies with whom they have a close inter-relationship. We have to suspend judgment on this and many other matters till the publication of the other volumes in the series.

P. B. R.

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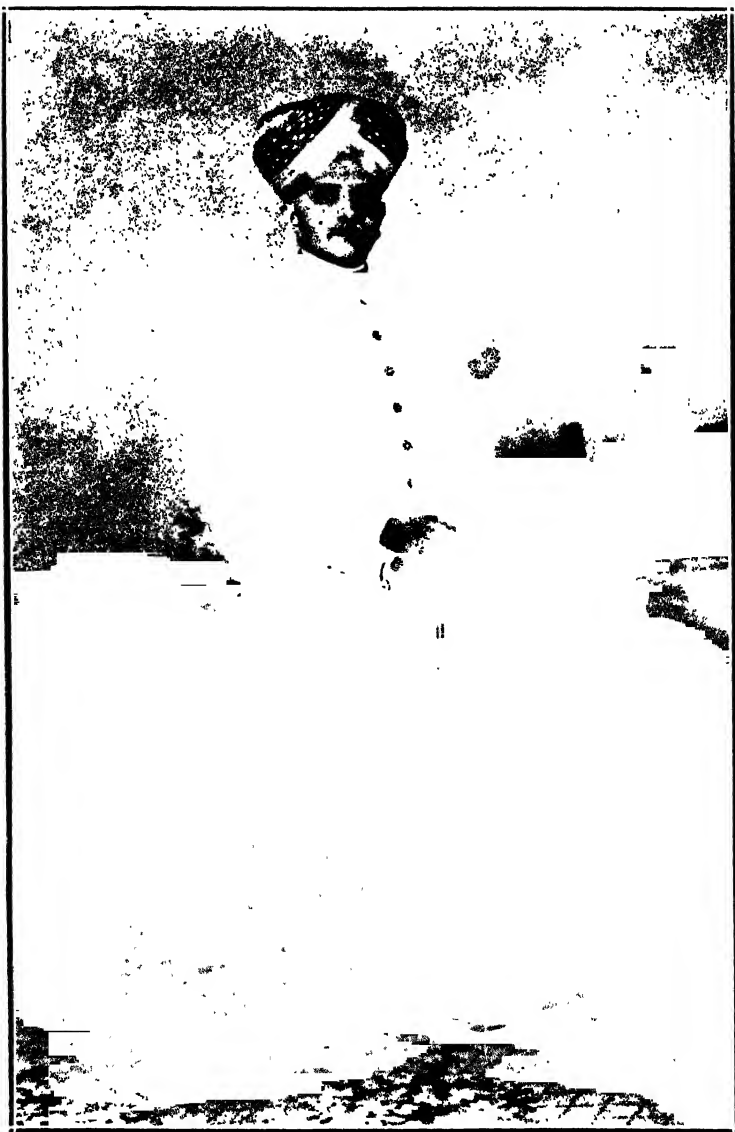
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His Highness
Śrī Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.F.
Mahārāja of Mysore
1895-1940

Born : 4th June 1881

Died : 3rd August 1940

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

IN MEMORY OF
HIS HIGHNESS
COLONEL SIR ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR BAHADUR
G.C.S.I., G.B.E.
MAHĀRĀJA OF MYSORE

1st FEBRUARY 1895—3rd AUGUST 1940

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THE THIRD & FOURTH NUMBERS OF VOL. XXXI IS ISSUED
AS A MEMORIAL NUMBER

S. SRIKANTAYA



His Highness
Śrī Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur
Mahārāja of Mysore



MESSAGE
OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHĀRĀJA OF MYSORE
TO HIS PEOPLE

THE PALACE
MYSORE

8th September 1940

MY BELOVED PEOPLE,

I have been profoundly moved by the innumerable marks of respect and affection for my revered uncle, the LATE MAHĀRĀJA ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, which have poured in from rich and poor, from high and low from every quarter of the State. Such testimony to the loss which they as well as I have sustained has brought much consolation to me and to the members of my House, and will be a source of strength to sustain me in the great task upon which I am about to enter.

In succeeding to the Throne of Mysore, I follow a great Ruler who loved you all, and who won your love by his love of God, his wisdom, his graciousness, his humility, his faithfulness to duty and his kingly greatness.

His memory will be ever with us. It is a bitter memory now when we are feeling the full shock of his loss, the gap he leaves in all our lives. It will grow sweeter as the years go on and as we learn to appreciate the more all that he meant to us, and to mould our lives by his.

It is now for us to dedicate ourselves to the fulfilment of his great task. And we shall succeed in fulfilling it if we so consecrate ourselves in the spirit of one great family. The world is very full of troubles today and it is only by meeting these troubles in a spirit of unity and self-sacrifice that we can win through. In this spirit I look upon this ceremony of ascending the Throne of my ancestors as a dedication of myself, my life and all I have to the service of the people of Mysore. But I am fully conscious that no effort of mine can succeed alone. I need your help and your co-operation, your confidence and your love.

May God grant me light and strength in the discharge of the sacred duty entrusted to me, and may His blessings in abundance rest on and brighten every hearth and home in Mysore.

JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR

ŚRI KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR IV

INTRODUCTORY

THE geological strata of Mysore represent the most ancient epoch of the earth's crust, far anterior to the sedimentary formations in which fossil records of ancient plants and animals have been preserved. The Mysore tableland is situate between $11^{\circ}-36'$ and $15^{\circ}-2'$ N.L. and $74^{\circ}-36'$ and $78^{\circ}-39'$ E.L. surrounded almost entirely by the Presidency of Madras except on the north-west by Bombay and on the south-west by Coorg. The general elevation is above 2,000 feet and at the central watershed which separates the basin of the River Krishna from that of the River Cauvery it is 3,000 feet. Isolated peaks of massive rocks called droogs form a prominent feature of the country while chains of hills running chiefly north and south divide the tableland into numerous valleys. The borders of Mysore have changed time and again from ancient days, from far off Perdore or the River Krishna in the north to Ramesvaram in the south with the ocean on either side and have been now fixed up, by the Mysore Treaty after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, to comprise an area of nearly 30,000 square miles. The average rainfall ranges from over 300 inches on the crest of the Western Ghats to so low as 17 inches in the north of Chitaldrug. The population exceeds seven millions, density* being over 200.

This beautiful country offers unending interest to every taste. Noble forests, the haunt of the elephant, bison, tiger, and lesser beasts, appeal to the big game hunter; and for the fisherman there is always the chance of a mahseer, which may top a hundred pounds. No country of the same area has a greater wealth of beautiful monuments and historical traditions. There are temples as in Halebid, Belur and Somanathapur exhibiting types of sculptural art, perhaps unrivalled in the world. For the adventurer, there are gold, iron, manganese, and many valuable

minerals while the local industries—the sandal-wood carvings of Shimoga, the lacquerware of Channapatna, the brass works of Nagamangala, and the ivory inlaid in rose-wood of Mysore produce examples not unworthy of the palmy days of Indian handicrafts.

It is interesting to observe that the ancient history of Mysore is connected with many a legend enshrined in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the latter of which recorded the adventures of the solar king, Rāma, a descendant of Raghu. The kings of the Raghu family led pure lives from their birth, persevered in all their undertakings till they succeeded, duly offered oblations to the sacred fire, gave every one what he asked, administered punishment to the offenders proportionate to their crimes, always worked in proper hours, spoke little from the fear of deviating from truth, acquired learning in boyhood, managed worldly affairs in youth, retired into woods in old age and died engaged in religious meditation. Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar was selected by destiny to fulfil the tradition of this Vedic ideal of rulership described by Kalidāsa in the Raghuvamśa and he attained the rank of a Ṛṣi by the practice of religious austerities and he was called a Rājārṣi even by Mahātma Gāndhi.

EARLY LIFE

Three years after the Instrument of Transfer under which Mysore was restored by the British Administration to Śrī Chāmarāja Wadiyar, of the ancient Hindu Ruling Family of Mysore, Śrī Krishnarāja was born at Mysore, on the 4th of June 1884 at 11 A.M. (I.S.T.) Jupiter and Venus rising together in the ascendant. The birth of an heir to the throne was a day of great and universal rejoicing to the people who had not for generations seen the birth of a Yuvarāja. First son and third child of Śrī Chāmarāja Wadiyar, of revered memory, Mahārāja of Mysore, the prince was delicate as a child but he gradually developed into a robust and healthy boy. After the usual Śāstric akṣarābhyāsa ceremony in his fifth year, a special tutor was appointed on his sixth birthday to look after his education. In the first two years, he and his two elder sisters had their lessons in the palace but in separate class-rooms and under separate teachers, with a pandit to give lessons in Kannada. Krishnarāja was diligent

in his lessons and could speak fluently in English and it was not very long before he spoke that language as well as an Englishman. A Royal School was formed with classmates and companions carefully selected from amongst the distinguished scions of noble families associated or connected with the palace or in Mysore public life. Mr. J. Weir (later Inspector-General of Education in Mysore) who examined him in 1893 was thoroughly satisfied with his performance in reading, recitation, dictation and geography of Mysore. With Mr. Whitley as tutor, the boy's progress continued and he picked up elementary science, with Urdu and Kannada as vernaculars. In the field of sport, he passed through some difficult tests in horsemanship and gymnastics of a comprehensive character. This even course of the prince's career, however, received a check by the dark cloud which passed over Mysore at this time.

Death of Chāmarāja Wadiyar

About the end of November 1894, Śrī Chāmarāja Wadiyar undertook a tour to Calcutta. At the time of starting he had slight cough, cold and fever. At Poona, fever and cough continued and at Allahabad where the party halted for four days, Chāmarāja was listening to exquisite music till far into the night everyday. Calcutta, which they reached thereafter, was very cold and the fog on the Hugli river was terrible. His Highness' ailment persisted and continued without abatement. On the 23rd of December 1894, when all the members of the Medical profession in India had assembled in a Conference addressed by H. E. the Viceroy Lord Elgin, the Mahārāja was seriously laid up, choking for breath. The Mysore doctors, Benson, Krishnaswamy Iyer and Hanuman Singh called in Col. Macdonnell who pronounced him to be suffering from Dyptheria and advised an injection of Anti-toxin. He appeared better for a day and listened to the entrancing music of Gohar Jan, just then bursting into fame. He got worse the next day, there was really no improvement in his condition and Chāmarāja Wadiyar passed away on Saturday, the 28th of December 1894. His untimely death after a beneficent regime of over thirteen years during which period Mysore had prospered in all directions, establishing its reputation as a model state was lamented as a great national loss throughout India; it evoked

feelings of wide-spread sympathy in England; it was deplored as an imperial loss by the British Government; and Chāmarāja Wadiyar has left an enduring affection in the hearts of his subjects with monuments of his rule which continue to remind us of the nobility of his character and the beneficence of his aims. The disastrous famine of 1877-78 had decimated the population and depleted the treasury, leaving a debt of over eighty lakhs of rupees. His Highness had undertaken railway and irrigation works as a first duty to protect the state from periodically recurring famines; had promoted education and public health; and reorganised the several departments of the state. As Rice put it, dignified and unassuming, Chāmarājendra's bearing was that of the English gentleman. An accomplished horseman and whip, fond of sports, a liberal patron of the turf, and hospitable as a host, while at the same time careful in observance of Hindu customs, he was popular with both Europeans and Indians. He was devoted to the family and of a cultured and refined taste which led him to take special pleasure in European music and works of art. He was also diligent and conscientious in attending to business. He had further travelled much and had been brought into intercourse with most of the leading men in India, who were impressed with his high character.

Installation of Krishnarāja

Krishnarāja, worthy son of a worthy father, was installed on the throne of his ancestors, with all the customary ceremony, at Mysore on the 1st of February 1895 at 12-30 p.m. (I.S.T.) by the British Resident, Colonel Henderson, at the moment of the conjunction of Mercury and Venus, which had been conspicuous objects in the evening sky for some time past.

His mother, Her Highness Mahārāṇi Kempananjammani, Śrī Vāṇivilāsa Sannidhāna, was proclaimed Regent and, though stricken with sorrow, she undertook to guide and encourage the people by administering the State during the minority of the Mahārāja. Her exemplary self-denial, the prestige of her great name, her rare intelligence and her great heart were thus placed at the disposal of her subjects and under her fostering care the birth-right of her son was conserved and improved.

The Mahārāṇi-Regent exhibited an extraordinary degree of mental courage in the fulfilment of her task and like Śrī Lakshmi-ammanni of the previous century, she showed that Indian ladies could play a worthy part in the administration of the State. To an offer of condolence by Sir William Cunningham, Foreign Secretary, she replied that it appeared to her as if her husband had proceeded to Calcutta personally to entrust his family and State to the special care of the paramount power. Purdah proved no barrier to her to acquaint herself with the wants and wishes of her people.

Krishnarāja at the age of ten

The Viceroy, Lord Elgin, visited Mysore, a few months after the installation and described the young Mahārāja, then ten years old, at the State Banquet in these words:—"And as for the Mahārāja, we have today the pleasure of seeing how well he has taken part, young as he is, in the ceremonies in which he has had a share. It was with sincere pleasure I was able to convey my congratulations to Her Highness on the part her son had played. All is full of promise for him; but if I might say a word of friendly council, 'don't hurry to be too old too fast'. Every age has its duties; and I am sure it will be the earnest wish of the best friends of the Mahārāja that he should use the next few years for the arduous battle of life. This is the duty which he owes to the memory of his father and the watchful care of his mother, and there can be no two greater incentives for him than these."

A Ruler's Training

In June 1896, on his twelfth birthday, a special tutor and governor in the person of Mr. S. M. (afterwards Sir Stuart) Fraser was appointed to look after his education and training. The Mahārāja now left the old palace for the summer palace which thereafter became both his school and his home where he lived with his classmates and companions, one of the masters being always present on duty day and night. There was regular class work from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M. besides courses in drill, riding and outdoor games such as cricket and tennis, with also polo and hunting. At Ooty, he hunted with the Ooty pack, while at Mysore and Bangalore he resorted to coursing with a pack of Egyptian grey hounds specially kept in the palace for the purpose. He was

taught to drive a carriage and pair and he very soon achieved expertness in handling the ribbons of a four-in-hand team. During his school days, he showed special aptitude for mechanical and other scientific knowledge, while his powers of observation and patience were alike remarkable and wonderful. Special attention was being given to public speaking and every one who heard His Highness speaking whether in Kannada, Urdu or English would have noticed how his voice, though low, carried far, besides being mellifluous and distinct.

In 1897 occurred a bereavement in the sad demise of the first Rājakumārī and there was a disastrous fire in the old palace. On both occasions, His Highness was calm and collected and unperturbed.

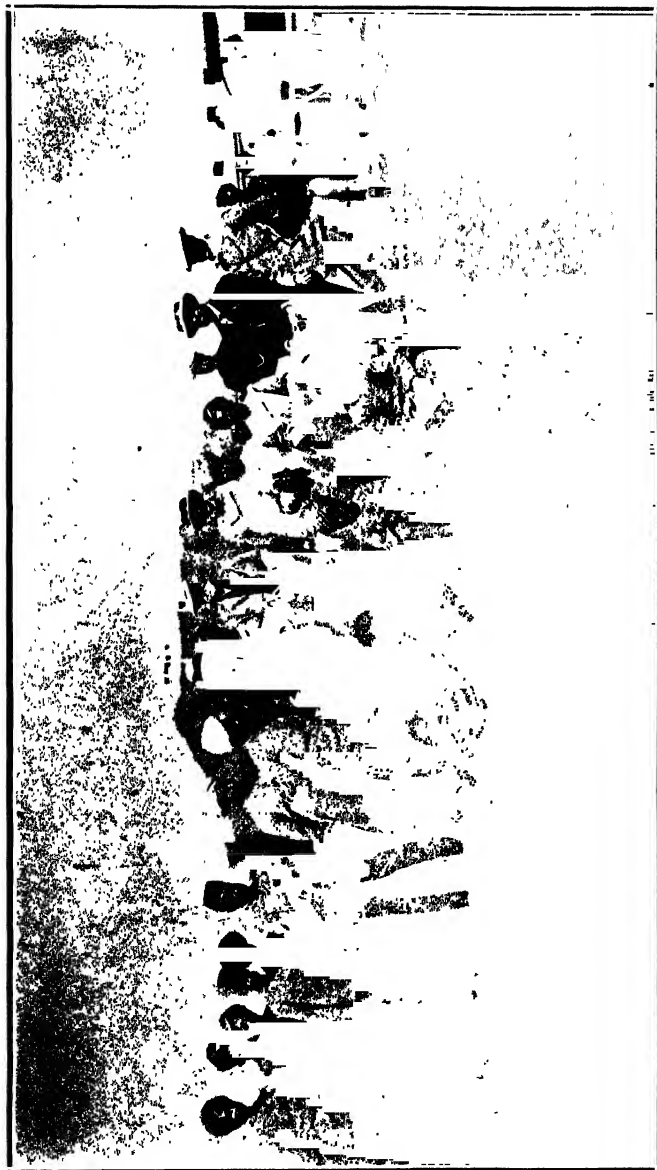
In the training of the young Mahārāja, a systematic and sustained effort was made to prepare him for the duties of his exalted office. To afford an intelligent knowledge both of the theory and practice of government, the reading of modern history and science was combined with a study of the principles of jurisprudence and methods of revenue administration.

His Tours

Supplemental to these were the extensive tours in the State which brought the Mahārāja into contact with all classes of the people in cities and the countryside—both official and non-official—whence he got a first-hand and extensive knowledge of the nature and resources of the country he had to govern in an impressionable period of his life which stood him well throughout. In 1898, he made his first provincial tour in the districts of Shimoga, Kadur and Hassan and also visited Masur near Poona to witness a total solar eclipse. In 1899 was undertaken another provincial tour through the districts of Tumkur and Mysore. In 1900, Śrī Krishnarāja made his first North Indian tour and also his first sea voyage from Madras to Calcutta, visiting Darjeeling, Benares, Agra, Delhi, Jaipur, Baroda and Bombay, returning to Bangalore through Hampi, the famous ruins of the Vijayanagara Empire.

His Marriage

In June of that year, he married Pratiṣṭhapakumārī Devī, Her Highness Maharāṇī Śrī Lakshmivilāsa Sanyidhāna, the second



Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar and Party for Solar Eclipse at Masur, Bombay Presidency

22nd January 1898

daughter of the Rāna Jhala Bane Singhji of Vāna in Kathiawar. In November, he visited parts of the Tumkur and Mysore districts.

Further Tours

In 1901, he undertook a tour to Burma, accompanied by his brother His Highness Yuvarāja Śrī Kaṇṭhirava Narasimharāja Wadiyar. The party journeyed from Madras to Rangoon by steamer and proceeded by rail right up to Mytkina in Upper Burma, doing Mandalay, Maymyo and the famous Gohteik gorge on the way. The return journey was made by the river steamer witnessing the wonderful defiles on the Irrawady river between Mytkina and Bhamo. After a week, the party disembarked at Prome and reached Rangoon whence they returned to Madras travelling far and wide, seeing many things, meeting many people and acquiring fresh knowledge. Later in the same year, he made a big provincial tour through Hassan, Kadur, Shimoga, Chitaldrug, Tumkur and back through Gangamula. In January 1902, he visited various public institutions and in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore, he was taken round for inspection. At Bangalore, he witnessed the trial of a case in the City Magistrate's Court and after hearing the evidence wrote a judgment of his own, which happened to be quite identical with the findings of the experienced Magistrate himself.

In 1908 a trip was arranged to Japan but owing to the spread of the plague and threatened famine in some parts of the State, His Highness abandoned it and sent his brother, the Yuvarāja who toured through Ceylon and China, including Hongkong and Shanghai in his itinerary.

As observed by Śrī Krishnarāja many years later, "There was a time many years ago when the Malnad was described as the principal granary of South India. Travellers gave accounts of its mighty capitals; it was the scene of great battles and other historical events. By one of those changes with which history abounds, the Malnad fell on evil days. Though its soil retained its fertility and its abundant rainfall continued, its population declined, partly through the prevalence of disease, and partly through certain habits of life which gave facilities to disease. While the male population so lost their vitality

that labourers had to be imported from elsewhere for all great works, the mothers and children suffered from a mortality at the time of child-birth in the first few years of life which was appalling." It is most comforting to observe that our present Mahārāja Śrī Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar's first tour after his installation was in the Mysore Malnad and that every encouragement is forthcoming for its improvement.

External tours added to the sum of his knowledge and the provincial tours, done mostly on horse-back or in an open carriage and pair, enabled him to see a great deal of his country and of his people and to study their wants and needs at first-hand. There was hardly a place, village, hamlet or town of any interest or importance, be it a religious centre like Śringeri or Melukote, an ancient capital like Halebid, a famous monument like that of Gomāṭanātha at Śravanabelgola, or a modern trading centre like Chickballapur or Channapatna, which he did not visit during his minority. Accompanied by Campbell and Maconochie, in 1902 he visited Sivasamudram where the lines were running through Kankanhalli to Kolar Gold Field, under the hydro-electric power system for a long distance transmission of ninety-two miles. He was keenly interested in the generation of power and the arrangements made for its transmission. He had learnt the working of the telephone and telegraphy by that time. And it is remarkable, that even while his health was disturbed, he was anxious to know the details of television—as late as the 19th of July 1940.

INVESTITURE

The time of his attaining majority and investiture of ruling powers arrived, and on the 8th of August 1902 this ceremony took place. Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, performed the function with due éclat and the Mahārāja of Mysore ascended with religious ceremonies and ancient splendour, the jewelled throne, celebrated as that of King Bhoja, and round which tradition and legend have gathered stories surpassing the legend of the golden fleece. Whether the great Aurangazeb gifted it to Chickkadevarāja Wadiyar or, whether at an earlier period Kampila brought it from Hastināpura where the Pāṇḍavas had left it and buried it in

Penukonda, or whether Vidyāranya, the traditional founder of the Vijayanagara Empire, discovered and gave it to Harihara, we do not know. The throne, however, was used by the Vijayanagara ruling family for about two centuries and Śrī Rangarāya removed it from Ānegondi to Seringapatam. Rāja Wadiyar defeated him and seated himself on this jewelled throne in 1609. Discovered in a lumber room after the fall of Tippu, it was used in the historic installation of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar III, of revered memory, when the British restored Mysore to the Hindu Rāj.

The brilliant ceremony of the investiture took place in the gorgeous pavilion attached to the Jagan Mohan Palace and was witnessed by thousands of people who had collected to see their young Mahārāja assuming the duties of his high office. The streets were gaily decorated and the approaches to the pavilion were lined with the infantry and cavalry of His Highness' army. The Royal Warwickshires supplied the Guard of Honour, with band and colours, at the entrance of the Durbar Hall. The Viceroy arrived in State accompanied by Mr. Wood, Under-Secretary, Foreign Department, Lt. Col. the Hon'ble E. Baring, Military Secretary, Mr. Carnduff and His Excellency's personal staff. The escort consisted of the fourth Hussars and the Twelfth Battery Field Artillery. The grand cortège as it passed through the crowded streets of the historic capital excited much admiration from the people, unaccustomed to the sight of so large a British force in their midst.

Entering the Durbar Hall with due formalities and appropriate ceremonies, the Viceroy conducted the Mahārāja to the *masnad*. His Excellency paid a remarkable and well-deserved compliment to the services rendered to the State by the members of its ruling family and faithful and patriotic ministers—Rangacharlu who unfortunately did not long survive the Rendition of 1881, and Sir Seshadri Aiyar who for eighteen years wielded an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities, and left its mark upon every branch of the administration. After referring to the amiability and excellence of disposition of Śrī Chāmarāja Wadiyar, he gave a well-deserved tribute to Śrī Vāṇivilāsa Sannidhāna who had set an example of domestic and public virtue which

was of equal value to her people and to her family, earning the admiration of all and to whose unfailing tact and discretion was due the smooth progress of the events during that period of her rule as Regent.

On his investiture, Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar became the ruler of a tractable and contented people, belonging to a picturesque and historic state, inheriting traditions of administration which after fifty years of British supervision had been finally established upon progressive and constitutional lines. During the seven years of the able and well-conducted regency of his mother, there was no interruption to the advancement of the country; numerous public works bore testimony to the beneficent spirit of her administration; the policy of Śrī Chāmarāja Wadiyar had been continued in increasing the area of land under cultivation and by improved methods; the development of the gold-mining industry; the Cauvery-Hydro-Electric power scheme; the construction of the Marikanive Reservoir called Vāṇivilāsa Sāgara; introduction of water-supply to Bangalore and Mysore; and development in the means of communication, among others.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Under the forceful, continuous and incessant inspiration of the personality of the Mahārāja who had toured the State and personally acquainted himself with the needs of his people, a series of administrative reforms calculated for the progress of the State was introduced embracing all departments of public activity: (i) Education; (ii) Public Health; (iii) Local Self-Government and City Improvement; (iv) Electrification; (v) Irrigation; (vi) Ethnological and other Surveys; (vii) Agricultural improvements; (viii) State industries—Tile Works, Soap, Sericulture and other Works and (ix) Development of minor forest produce, etc.

Consultative Council

The Council of Regency gave place to a Consultative Council consisting of the Dewan and two members, the Mahārāja taking very close and intimate interest in the details of administration. Meeting his Executive Council, soon after the investiture, on the 14th of August 1902, he said: "No human institution can be perfect and the new scheme of administration will, no doubt, disclose defects

of one kind or another." And proceeded "It cannot be expected that you will always agree with one another or that I shall always agree with you. It may be that, at times, you may feel soreness individually or even collectively at being over-ruled. At such times I ask you to give credit to those who disagree with you for being actuated by the same sense of public duty as yourselves, and to reflect that in giving your opinion and urging it to the utmost of your power, you have done your duty and retained your self-respect. I ask you to banish all sense of resentment and to address yourselves to the next question before you with undiminished courage and good-will. If this is the spirit that animates our labours, I can, relying on your mature experience and proved abilities, look forward with confidence to the future. In conclusion; I desire to assure you, collectively, of my loyal support and, individually, of my unfailing sympathy and consideration." Needless to add, this constitutional relationship governed his policy throughout life.

Mysore Treaty

The Viceroy and Lady Hardinge visited Mysore in November 1913. At the State Banquet held at Mysore on the 6th of that month, His Highness said: "I could wish for no greater reward for my efforts to maintain a high standard of administration than the gracious words of praise and encouragement which have fallen from your Excellency's lips. Not only will the new treaty be welcomed by all classes of my people, but it will draw still closer the bond of gratitude and loyalty which has always united us to the British Government, and will also be regarded as a signal proof of the sympathy and generosity which have always marked the policy of the supreme Government towards Native States."

His joy on this account was so great that in the following month in reply to the address of the Kolar Gold Fields Mining Board on the occasion of his visit to open the District Board Light Railway, he said: "It is very gratifying to me to know that you share the rejoicing of all my subjects over the new Treaty of Mysore, the grant of which was so generously announced by His Excellency the Viceroy during his recent visit to Mysore."

The Mysore Treaty of 1913, was substituted for the Instrument of Transfer, itself being a substitute for the Subsidiary Treaty of 1799, emphasizing the important position which the Mahārāja had attained in the affections of the King-Emperor and the high standard of efficiency which the State had achieved to deserve this mark of increasing trust from the Imperial Government. It may be observed that Article Eighteen relating to the continuance of all laws and rules having the force of law as in 1881 and to their repeal modification only with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council was abrogated by the *Kharita* of the Governor-General of India dated 5th December 1933.

Mysore Constitution

* The period from 1919 to 1923 may be said to be a period of retrenchment and consolidation. The Representative Assembly while retaining its original functions of a body where the government and the representatives of the people would meet together and discuss the needs and grievances of the people, *i.e.* in essence a popular house seeking the redress of grievances, received a recognised constitutional position in the frame-work of the governance of the State. Its power and importance had been gradually growing, its representatives were found in increasing numbers on the Legislative Council, the franchise had been liberalised in the administration of Sir M. Visvesvaraya and its influence had been far more than could be actually assessed or appraised. Many changes were introduced in the franchise, in the method of election and in the composition of the Representative Assembly. The Mysore Legislative Council was constituted on the 22nd of January 1907 and at that time it was announced that it would not be long before an elective element was introduced into the Council and in giving privileges of electing members to it from the Representative Assembly. Its constitution and powers have since been materially altered by the enactments of 1923 and 1940. In the Legislative Council, a more compact body with greater powers of control over the acts of Government, there was an increase in the strength of the electorate, property qualification was still further reduced, disability of sex was removed, representation of special interests was systematised and

the minority communities got facultative representation. Envisaging a demand for responsible government in Mysore, Sir Brajendranath Seal, in his report on the constitutional developments in Mysore, has said : "While the sovereign vetoes a measure passed by the Representative Assembly he does so in his capacity as the representative or the head of his people deriving his authority as from the people over and above these representatives themselves." Thus the principles of the new constitution would be difficult to follow unless on the basis of the referendum back to the people. "In practice, however, difficulties will not arise for it is not likely that any sovereign, least of all the Sovereign of Mysore would ever think of going against the declared wishes of the people." The first speech of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar addressed to his ministers bore an impress of modesty, if not of diffidence, when presiding at an extraordinary meeting of the Executive Council on the 14th of August 1902, held only a few days after his installation, he said "We are all again in Mysore at the beginning of a new experiment." For the Mysore constitution, may it not be said, that "a well organised, proud, honest, efficient and stable administration, whose one desire is to carry out as effectively and quickly as possible a wise and progressive policy based upon a responsiveness to the needs of the people and the fullest co-operation with their representatives " is perhaps as good a substitute for responsible government as one can wish for or one can get ? And in promulgating the Reforms in 1923, the Mahārāja himself said, "My people have been associated with the policies and activities of my Government through the Representative Assembly for over forty years, and in addition, through the Legislative Council for over fifteen. Indeed, I may go so far as to claim for the Mysore Representative Assembly that it is the oldest body in India designed to bring a large number of the people's representatives into close and direct association with the personnel and measures of the administration."

And addressing the reconstituted Legislatures on the 12th of March 1924 he observed, "You now represent your constituencies in a truer sense than ever before and you have far greater opportunities of influencing the decisions of Government in accordance

with popular demands . . . I am aware that a section of my people were in favour of further radical changes, including a wider franchise and increased powers. While fully sympathising with their ideas, I may state that our decision was made after prolonged consultation. Each State must evolve its own constitution, suited to its own needs and conditions and to the genius of its people. Without departing from the fundamental principles of development common to all forms of polity, it has been deemed necessary to maintain the character of the Representative Assembly as a body for consultation and reference . . . More especially would I urge you to instruct the people to practise thrift, to lay by provisions and money against drought and famine which are such a distressing feature of our agricultural situation . . . I would urge you also to make a thorough study of the subjects before you speak on them and, in all your pleadings, to place the interests of the State as a whole before those of any section or class. A third point which I would emphasize is that you must keep in close touch with the Government and the people and interpret the one to the other . . . I have no doubt that you will use your new powers to strengthen all the beneficent activities in the country, to spread education, to diffuse knowledge, to further industrial enterprise, both public and private, and to foster the civic virtues and the spirit of social service. . . . It is the ambition of my life to see the people of my State develop self-sustaining qualities, exhibit initiative and enterprise and take a front rank in all progressive movements and activities in the country . . . All constitutional progress relates to the enlightenment of the people, and the quickening and utilizing of their energies in the business of the State. Progress of this kind has been the constant aim of the Government of Mysore . . . I would have you apprehend with mind and heart this vital fact, that the interests of Government and people are identical. The happiness of the people is both the happiness and the vindication of Government . . . and such differences as naturally occur in all lands and all along the road of progress—can refer only to the means, never to the end . . . My faith in the power and willingness of my people to render patriotic service is firmly rooted in experience and you may rely on my abiding sympathy with your aspirations.” •

In his message to the Committee formed fifteen years later to investigate and make proposals for introducing further changes in the constitutional machinery of the State, His Highness said, "I have watched with profound satisfaction the progressive association of my people with my Government, having as my single aim the prosperity and happiness of all classes, and always the hope that Mysore may play a worthy part in the progress of India as a whole" and "I pray that you may succeed in evolving a scheme that will blend Western ideas of progress with our own traditions of *Satya* and *Dharma*."

And he announced the reforms by a proclamation from which the following extract is taken :

"Whereas the welfare and advancement of My people have been My constant aim and endeavour, and . . . Whereas the fundamental identity of interests between My people and My government has found satisfactory and progressive fulfilment in the measures adopted by ME from time to time, and . . . Whereas it is now My desire to take further steps to increase the association of the representatives of My people with My government in the administration of the State in pursuance of My cherished and declared policy, . . . I hereby ORDAIN AS FOLLOWS :—"The Representative Assembly which was established fifty-eight years ago by command of My beloved father, HIS HIGHNESS ŚRĪ CHĀMARĀJENDRA WADIYAR BAHADUR of revered memory, and which was placed on a statutory basis with enlarged functions by ME under Act XVIII of 1923, and the Legislative Council which was established by ME under Act I of 1907 and whose powers were enhanced by ME under Act XIX of 1923, have hitherto been functioning under separate Acts. They will now be brought into integral relationship with one another, and will henceforth function under a consolidated law relating to the constitution of Mysore. Privileges of freedom of speech and immunity from arrest under certain conditions will be conferred on the members of both Houses, and their term, which is now three years, will be extended to four years."

MAHĀRĀJA AT WORK

The amount of work which the Mahārāja was personally attending to may be gauged from a statement made by his Dewan, Sir P. N. Krishnamurti in the Representative Assembly on the 21st of October 1904. "Such, gentlemen, is the summary of the main events of the second year of His Highness' administration. The number of cases that engaged the attention of His Highness amounted to more than 1,100 showing an increase of more than 370 over that of last year and this beneficent exercise of His Highness' personality over all the important business of the State affords a tangible proof of His Highness' great interest in the welfare of his subjects. It is difficult to calculate the extent of the obligation under which the administration is placed to His Highness' inspiring example. The extent of the hold, which His Highness and the members of the Ruling Family have established on the affection of the people of Mysore, received as you know a signal confirmation on the occasion of the recent illness of the Yuvarāja, when every heart in Mysore turned with the keenest anxiety to his sick bed at Ajmer, and when, under the blessings of God, he was restored to health, greeted his return to this country with an unique outburst of joy and with festive demonstration."

A Private Secretary's Estimate

As recorded by his Private Secretary, Sir Evan Maconochie, in *Life in the Indian Civil Service*, "His Highness would come to his own office with unfailing regularity at any time after eleven, when I would take his orders, and he would remain till the business of the day was disposed of. . . . I found in him a kind and considerate chief and a loyal friend. On young shoulders he carried a head of extraordinary maturity, which was, however, no bar to a boyish and wholehearted enjoyment of manly sports as well as the simple pleasures of life. He rode straight to hounds, played polo with the best, and a first-class game of racquets. He was devoted to animals, particularly his horses and the terrier that would be his best companion, and he never failed to attend stables of a morning, to watch the training, supervise the care and gratify the taste for lucerne and carrots of a stable of carriage

horses, hunters and polo ponies that ran well into the second hundred. It was at such times or on a morning ride that confidential matters could be most easily discussed, and so we did much business out of office. He had the taste and knowledge to appreciate western music as well as his own. So my violin came out of its case, after many years, and we could have musical evenings at my house, with quartets and the like, in which His Highness would take the part of first violin. . . . The administration generally was in all essentials far ahead of any other Indian State of that day. And if a very complete body of rules and regulations was often regarded as embodying no more than counsels of perfection, how many administrations are qualified to cast the first stone? His Highness set to work to tighten things up, and very wisely took in hand his own house first. . . . During his first year, he put things to rights, patiently and with a minimum of disturbance, but effectually.

“The Government of India system was introduced into the Secretariat and a comprehensive Office Manual was brought out. No Secretariat subordinate would get promotion without passing an examination in the manual. The result was most gratifying and cases (worked up) would have done credit to any Secretariat in India. The Civil Service cadre was revised, admittance being generally restricted to those successful in a stiff competitive examination and the best type of recruit was at once forthcoming to the greater benefit of the service.

“The Mahārāja's path at the beginning of his reign was not all easy-going. On the one hand, any display of reforming zeal which affected the vested interests or ambitions of any class of his subjects was attributed by the latter to the malign influence of the Residency or myself and to corresponding weakness on the part of His Highness. On the other, as he pursued the only right policy for an Indian Ruler of giving his own people the chance of showing what they were worth and of substituting an Indian for an Englishman whenever a vacancy occurred, he injured the feelings of the surviving members of the Mysore Commission and their friends, and of others who had received appointments in the time of his father. His simple dignity and reserve manners were

often misinterpreted and contrasted with the more patent geniality of his father. As a matter of fact, no Indian Prince ever showed greater attachment to the English friends of his choice, though his powers of discrimination were remarkable. I never knew him make a mistake as to the quality of the Englishmen and women that he admitted to his friendship. . . . As to his own people, he sized up each individual with an intuition amazing in one of his years. . . . Through all the initial difficulties the Mahārāja pursued his placid way, undisturbed by the criticism of the thoughtless, the uninformed or the dissatisfied. He arrived at decisions with deliberation, but his mind, once made up, was unalterable, and the unforgivable sin in his eyes was inconsistency or a facile change of front on the part of a responsible officer. Himself absolutely reliable, he found no excuse for vacillation in others. His patience was inexhaustible, he was never the young man in a hurry, but as the years rolled by, one scheme after another of his own planning was realised with a completeness that was impressive and with an entire absence of fuss or disturbance that was not less remarkable. The State of this Mahārāja, 'a man of singular depth and strength of character' has ever been in the van of progress and is now equipped as no other with works and institutions of public usefulness or amenity."

IMPORTANT EVENTS

Visit to Poona

In December 1902, Śrī Krishnarāja visited Poona where this lover of the music of the East and West was invited to attend a function of the Gāyana Samāja.

Coronation at Delhi

On the first of January 1903, His Highness took part in the historic function of the Coronation of Edward VII at Delhi, an event of great importance in the history of India bringing together all its princes and peoples in friendly intercourse.

Visit of Prince and Princess of Wales

In January 1906, Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales (later King George V and Queen Mary) visited Mysore and stayed for ten days in the State. The reception for Their Highnesses was on a scale befitting the occasion and the

Khedda operations were a pronounced and unqualified success. The Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held at Mysore where the products of arts and industries and other resources were exhibited attracted numerous visitors. The Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone of the Chāmarājendra Technical Institute at Mysore, thereby assisting in the amelioration of one of the most deserving and important classes of the Indian people. This occasion gave an opportunity to Śrī Krishnarāja to affirm his loyalty and devotion to the British Throne: "The fortunes of Mysore will ever be associated in history with the consolidation of British power of India. It was in Mysore that the great Duke of Wellington received his baptism of fire and won his first laurels. It was with the aid of the Mysore Horse and the Mysore Transport that he gained imperishable fame on the battlefields of the Deccan. The State itself and the family that I represent are grateful witnesses to those principles of equity and generous moderation that form the true foundation of His Majesty's empire of today in the hearts no less of the Princes than of the peoples of India. Within the last few hours your Royal Highnesses have stood with me upon the ramparts of Seringapatam and on the scene of that last desperate struggle will have shared with me a common pride in the heroism of the assault—the devotion of the defence."

Visit to Calcutta

In the cold weather of 1906, His Highness visited Calcutta at the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy and was his guest and while there he visited the Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition held in connection with the National Congress.

Made a G.C.S.I.

The title of the Grand Commander of the Star of India was graciously conferred on him by His Majesty the King-Emperor with which he was invested later, on the historic occasion of the visit of the Amir of Afghanistan. This news was received with demonstrations of joy by all classes of His Highness' subjects and the enthusiastic reception accorded to him when he toured the Mysore, Bangalore and Kolar Districts afforded a further proof of the feelings of affection and loyalty and personal devotion which

Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar throughout inspired in the minds of his people. In January 1907, a public address was presented to him at the Glass House, Lal-Bagh, Bangalore and a couple of months later at Mysore. His reply on these occasions is characteristic of the man and the ruler and of the responsibilities of his high office according to him and of his devotion to his people. He was ever mindful of Lord Curzon's dictum that there should be no blank page in a ruler's diary and that if he acted conscientiously and dutifully his name would live for generations in the memory of his people. He ever put his heart into his work, was just, courageous, merciful to the lowly and considerate to all. His Highness said, "It shall ever be my aim and ambition in life to do all that lies in me to promote the happiness of my beloved people. I can assure you that I shall not spare myself in the endeavour to accomplish this. Neither perseverance nor effort will, I trust, ever be found wanting in fulfilling this aim."

Visit of Lord Minto

In 1909 the visit of His Excellency Lord Minto, whose name is perpetuated by the Minto Ophthalmic Hospital at Bangalore took place.

Marriage of the Yuvarāja

In May of that year the Yuvarāja, Śrī Kaṇṭirava Narasimharāja Wadiyar's marriage with a princess of the noted Dalvoy family of Mysore evoked the greatest interest and personal enthusiasm throughout the country; and it is a matter of pride and supreme satisfaction that their first child, Śrī Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar is our ruler today.

His Tribute to His Grand-Father

At the birthplace of his grandfather, Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar III, of revered memory, a mantap was put up in 1915 and the feeling reference by the Mahārāja on the occasion may be seen from the following: "There are few places more closely associated with Mysore history than the island and fortress of Seringapatam and it is a source of peculiar gratification to me that this should be chosen for a memorial to my illustrious grandfather, whose name will long be remembered in connection not only with the restoration of our ancient dynasty, but with its second restoration after fifty years

of British administration. It may truly be said that we owe that signal act of generosity and justice, the Rendition of Mysore in 1881, to the recognition by the British Government of the high personal character of my grandfather, of his patience and fortitude, and of his unswerving loyalty to the British Government during many years of adversity."

Visit to Kashmir

In July 1918, the Mahārāja was able to accept the invitation from His Highness Mahārāja Sir Pratap Singh to pay a visit to his State of Kashmir. Ten days were spent at Srinagar seeing many interesting things and places. Afterwards, on the expedition to a mountain to the south of Chashmashahi, only the younger and more active members of his staff accompanied him on this long and tiring walk. The party returned after visiting the Gulmarg Hills and the cave of Amarnath, 'Far from the haunts of man and beast in a valley cold and drear', after many delightful experiences and enjoying great hospitality and the charming scenery and climate of the country. Campbell, the Private Secretary who accompanied His Highness on that occasion, chronicles that while the dwellers in the arid plains round Delhi and Lahore may think Kashmir a paradise, its beauties are somewhat overrated. For himself,

" Give me old Mysore,
Her lovely ' garden ' capital, her temples known to fame
Her hills and dales and water-falls and jungles full of game.
I'm glad to feel the sentiment, where'er my steps may roam,
That though the world is beautiful, there is no place quite like home."

Becomes a G.B.E.

His Majesty the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to bestow on His Highness the title of Knight Grand Commander of the Excellent Order of the British Empire in token of his appreciation of the loyalty evinced by His Highness and his subjects during the Great War (1914-18).

As Chancellor of Benares University

His Highness the Mahārāja was the first Chancellor of the University of Benares founded in 1916 and presided at its convocation on the 17th of January 1919 and again in December 1921 when that University conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on Prince

Edward of Wales (afterwards Edward VIII, now the Duke of Windsor). Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar described the holi Kāśī as follows: "Benares was a seat of learning when the ancient kingdom of Taxila was young and now, twenty-five centuries later, a University in the same city is striving to establish that intellectual bond between the East and West which Taxila initiated and on which depend today the hopes of the future of the Indian race. From early Buddhist times onwards, Benares has received the visits of Princes and members of Royal houses, who came as students and departed as Doctors, but the presence of a Prince, in whom is centred the devotion of the many peoples and nations of the greatest empire in History, is the most memorable of all in the annals of this venerable city... There is a magic and enchantment about the very name of Benares which thrills the heart and fires the imagination, setting in motion a long train of ennobling, patriotic and spiritual memories. It is but fitting that this University, as the repository of Hindu tradition in the religious capital of the Hindus, should accord its loyal welcome and its tribute of affection to the Prince who comes as the representative of his august father and whose visit at this critical juncture in the evolution of India's national life is a touching token of our beloved King-Emperor's genuine love for his Indian people."

Visit of Prince of Wales

The Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VIII, visited Mysore in January 1922 and at the State Banquet, the Mahārāja spoke on the stability of the British Monarchy: "The British Throne is more deeply seated in the affections of every class of His Imperial Majesty's subjects; and the reason for this is not far to seek; for it lies, not only in the constitutional nature of the British Monarchy, but in the great personal qualities and wise statesmanship of successive sovereigns by whom the British Empire has been ruled for nearly a century past. It was by seeking the welfare of their people that Victoria the Good and Edward the Peace-maker, won their undying fame in history, while their successor, our present King-Emperor, has set to all his subjects throughout these past terrible years of war and crisis, the highest example of public spirit, courage and devotion to duty and has proved himself to be indeed the people's king."

Visit of Lord Irwin

On the 30th of June 1927 on the occasion of his visit to Mysore His Excellency, Lord Irwin, then Viceroy of India, announced the reduction of the Subsidy and in doing so he said "Mysore has perhaps a longer tradition than any other State in India and the Government of India can feel assured that any relief which they may feel it in their power to give will ensure to the benefit of the people of your State. It is a matter of real pleasure to me to announce on the occasion of my first visit to your State this practical recognition (reduction in Subsidy) of the regard we have for the spirit in which Your Highness has maintained the traditions of Government to which you found yourself the heir."

Silver Jubilee

The Silver Jubilee of the Mahārāja's reign was celebrated with universal rejoicing on the 8th of August 1927 by the people of Mysore and on this occasion his message to his beloved people was as follows: "On this day, when I complete the twenty-fifth year of my reign, I send my loving greetings to each one of my dear people, with a heart full of solicitude for their happiness. With unceasing effort, I shall, while life lasts, endeavour to promote their welfare and prosperity, and I pray that God may give me light and strength to achieve this, the supreme object of my life and rule."

Kailāsa Pilgrimage

The Mahārāja left Mysore on the 23rd of July 1931 on a pilgrimage to Kailāsa and after a triumphant progress he returned to Mysore on the 7th of September completing a hazardous journey of two months and twenty days. For many years past, it was his ambition to visit the holy Mount Kailāsa, till at last the Almighty was pleased to enable him in that year to achieve his life-long and ardent desire most successfully, attended as the undertaking was with risks too numerous to mention.

The spiritual hypnotism of the snow-clad Kailāsa, lofty and bright as a royal crown had a fascination for this royal pilgrim and a visit to this home of the gods and the holy Manasrovar below where pious men are said to commune with the devas was one of which lesser men would not have dared the attempt.

Since Yudhiṣṭhira in the Dvāpara Yuga we have not heard of a monarch's pilgrimage to this place. Explorers have visited and described the magnificence of Kailāsa, the home of Śiva and of Pārvatī. Throughout his progress from Almora right up to Kailāsa and back, our Mahārāja's fame had spread as a just, wise and kindly ruler and the peasants of the Himalayan regions joined in prayer for a *darśan* of the Mahārāja like his subjects in Bangalore or Mysore. Mr. Sadeg Z. Shah, who accompanied His Highness on this pilgrimage to Kailāsa, beautifully sums up his impressions in the following doggerel:—

“ Our beloved Mahārāja did lead all the way,
His kindness and charity words fail to say,
Oh Lord of the Kailās, to you we all pray,
To guard and protect him each hour of the day.”

And I should not wonder if the Mahārāja felt like Śrī Śankarācārya in his worship of Śiva in His abode at Kailāsa:—

कदा वा कैलसे कनकमणिसौधे सहगणैः ।

वसन् शंभोरग्रे स्फुटघटितमूर्धाञ्जलिपुटः ॥

विभो साम्ब स्वामिन् परमशिव पाहीति निगदन् ।

विधातृणां कल्यान् क्षणमिव विनेष्यामि सुखतः॥

“ If I could only live in Kailāsa abounding in gold and gems and be in Sāmba's presence with his gaṇās, I will put up my joined hands over my head and shouting O Vibho (source), Sāmba (Beneficence), Svāmin (Lord), Parama Śiva (the supreme God) protect, I will spend away pleasantly Brahma Kalpas (thousands upon thousands of years) as if they were seconds.”

Visit of the Willingdons

The Earl and Countess of Willingdon visited Mysore in December 1933 and a State Banquet was held in their honour. Addressing the Viceroy, the Mahārāja said : “ There are no people in the world who, by nature and tradition are more peace-loving, contented and responsive than the people of India . . . A certain Secretary of State, who made great fun of the impatient idealist, also declared that it was the greatest fallacy in all politics to think that whatever was good in the way of self-government for Canada

must be good for India. Your Excellency has since shown in your own person that one most essential component of the Government is every bit as successful in one country as in the other, and you have more than once experienced a hope that your position here may soon become similar to what it was in Canada."

A European Tour

For reasons of health His Highness undertook a tour to Europe in June 1936 which was very successful. He was received wherever he went with the greatest respect as a leading Hindu ruler, constitutional in his administration, devoted to the welfare of his subjects and ever-anxious in their well-being and as a tried and trusted friend and ally of the British Empire. He returned to India on the 30th of September 1936 with his health greatly improved.

Visit of Linlithgow

And in 1939, addressing the Marquess of Linlithgow the present Viceroy, on a similar occasion, he observed: "... new methods of obtaining political ends in Europe had brought the world to the brink of a war that might have made an end of civilisation itself, and when new ideologies in India are presenting problems the solution of which will put to the test Your Excellency's great powers of statesmanship. There are those who think that the Armageddon is only postponed, there are others who despair of ever finding a solution for India that will be satisfactory alike to the impatient idealist and to the steadfast conservative, and who think that it is not possible to find a way that combines progress towards the new with preservation of what is good in the old. When I read their gloomy prophecies I comfort myself with the motto of your Excellency's house, *Spes non fracta*, 'My hope is not broken'. Hope still lived in Europe when the world was on the verge of a catastrophe, and hope will live in India."

World Wars I & II

Mysore is a lover of liberty, and wishes to take its share in the battle for liberty. On the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Mahārāja placed all the resources of the State at the disposal of the Imperial Government, as he subsequently did in 1939. In October 1914

His Highness' Imperial Lancers sailed from India for Egypt. They fought in Egypt where the then Prince of Wales, Edward, had the pleasure of seeing them in 1916, and subsequently took part in the two years' desert campaign which ended in the capture of Ghaza and the fall of Jerusalem, where they played a prominent part. They then joined the famous fifteenth Cavalry Brigade and were active in the advance in the Jordan valley and in the final series of engagements which broke down the Turkish resistance and carried our arms into Syria. Thus they distinguished themselves at Haifa where they drove the enemy from strong positions on Mount Carmel capturing seven guns and three hundred prisoners. At the final action at Aleppo, they were again to the fore with a fine charge against heavy odds, in which they suffered severe casualties. They only returned to India in February 1920.

The effect of that war was to strengthen the links between the crown and the people and today, in spite of the Statute of Westminster, Indian armies are fighting side by side with the best of the Canadian, Australian and British and other armies on all fronts and we cannot but feel filled with pride as we hear the successful march of the allied regiments over the Libyan desert, in Abyssinia and in Eritria and other sectors of the African continent in the present war.

On the Armistice Day, the seventh day of December 1918, His Highness said: "We may reflect with special pride that India has played a noble part in the great struggle on almost every front and has sent her sons in thousands to fight and die as brothers in arms with the soldiers of Great Britain and her allies." On the struggle that is now going on (World War II) the Mahārāja's prayer for victory is contained in the following: "The forces of His Majesty the King-Emperor and of his whole Empire are engaged in a deadly struggle against aggressors who care nothing for right and justice. For a time the forces of evil may appear to succeed: but we know that we are fighting for the victory of the human spirit against mere brutal force. Therefore we believe firmly that in the end with the blessing of God our cause will prevail . . . At this season, when I have received once again the assurance on my subjects' love and loyalty, I ask that

every one may join with me in solemn prayer for victory. I desire that Sunday, the 30th of June 1940, should be observed as a day of special prayer for the success of our Empire and Allies in the great struggle, so that the free spirit of mankind may triumph, and victory may bring peace and safety to us and all the world." Now in the year of grace, 1941, shall we not all unite in a constant prayer for victory to the British arms and for an honourable and lasting peace in the world ?

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

His Highness' Interest

In December 1903, His Highness presided over the Indian Industries and Arts Exhibition held at Madras when he proclaimed his article of faith for Indian progress in the following memorable words:—"In these days of keen competition, much is heard in all parts of the Empire of what the pessimists term, the decadence of British trade and industries, which others prefer to regard as the legitimate and natural advance of foreign rivals in the markets of the world. Whatever the correct description of the trouble, the symptoms are beyond question and everywhere the needs of increased commercial and industrial activity are proclaimed and acknowledged. Here, in India, the problem is peculiar. Our trade tends steadily to expand, and, it is possible, as we know from the Parliamentary reports, to demonstrate by statistics the increasing prosperity of the country generally. On the other hand, we in India know, that the ancient indigenous handicrafts are decaying, that the fabrics for which India was renowned in the past are supplanted by the products of western looms, and that our industries are displaying that renewed vitality which will enable them to compete successfully in the home or the foreign market. The cultivator on the margin of subsistence remains a starving cultivator, the educated man seeks Government employment or the readily available profession of a lawyer, whilst the belated artisan works on the lines marked out for him by his forefathers for a return that barely keeps body and soul together . . . It is said that India is dependent on agriculture and must always remain so. That may be so, but there can, I venture to think, be little doubt that the solution of the ever

recurring famine problem is to be found not merely in the improvements of agriculture, the cheapening of looms, or the more equitable distribution of taxation but still more, in the removal from the land to industrial pursuits of a great portion of those, who, at the best, gain but a miserable subsistence, and on the slightest failure of the season are thrown on public charity. It is time for us in India to be up and doing; new markets must be formed, new methods adopted and new handicrafts developed, whilst the educated unemployed, no less than the skilled and unskilled labourers, all those, in fact, whose precarious means of livelihood is a standing menace to the well-being of the State, must find employment in reorganised and progressive industries. . . . Our object is to find new callings for those whose hereditary employment, from various causes, no longer provides a livelihood, and increased efficiency for those whose wares are still in demand, but at a price which does not remunerate the craftsman . . . I should like to see all those who 'think' and 'know', giving us their active assistance, and not merely criticism of our results. It is not Governments or forms of Government that have made the great industrial nations, but the spirit of the people and the energy of one and all working to a common end."

On the occasion of the opening of the Doddanna Setty's Hall in March 1906, he observed that manual training in a number of useful industries was a kind of education which was now recognised in the most advanced and progressive countries as the one most likely to produce useful and intelligent citizens.

Śrī Chāmarāja Wadiyar had opened an exhibition in Mysore in 1888 and nineteen years later, his son, Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar revived it in 1907 during the Dasara season, hoping if possible to place it on a permanent footing, so that there might be continuity of effort and steady progress.

Even as early as 1907-8 investigations were made for the construction of the Cauvery Reservoir and in connection with the supply of iron ore with a view to find out whether trustworthy results could be got. Dr. Smeeth, the State Geologist, was deputed to Turin to witness some trials proposed to be made by an Italian scientist in the smelting of iron ore with the electric furnace but owing to a breakdown in the arrangements the proposed trials could not be made.

Dr. Smeeth was, however, enabled to make experiments in the smelting of iron ore and in the production of steel and it was understood that his conclusions pointed to the feasibility of the development of the iron ore and the steel industry in Mysore in the future. Perseverance has led to remarkable progress in these two fields and we have the beautiful lake Krishnarājasāgara and the Bhadravati Iron Works both of which are of invaluable benefit to the people of the State and outside.

His Highness' view concerning the Indian economic condition will be evident from an address which he delivered when he laid the corner stone of the Indian Institute of Science in February 1911. "An agricultural population must of necessity be poor, as compared with an industrial one, and this poverty, in the case of India, is accentuated by periodical visitations of famine due to an uncertain rainfall. It is, of course, beyond the efforts of man to change the face of our vast Peninsula and to alter the conditions of life of all its teeming millions of agricultural labourers, but nevertheless it should be possible by dint of sustained and well-directed efforts to improve the position of the working classes by not only expanding our existing industries but increasing their scope and number and in this way reducing the number of people who are dependent on the soil for a livelihood. Living under the conditions which surround him in India, every thinking man cannot but welcome a scheme like that of the Indian Institute of Research which has as its object the development of arts and industries on scientific lines and I feel that I am echoing the voice of thousands of my fellow-countrymen when I publicly acknowledge today the deep obligation which we owe to that eminent philanthropist Mr. J. N. Tata to whose foresight and liberality is due the inception of this great scheme of an Indian University of Research, and to his sons and successors who have so readily and generously come forward to carry out their lamented father's wishes."

Again, on the occasion of the opening of the Economic Conference in Mysore in June 1911, His Highness said: "The desire for improving the condition of the people has always animated the present and the past administrations of the State.

But with the growth of communications and the increasing use of steam and electricity, questions of economic interest are assuming new aspects closely associated with the well-being of the people. The need for greater attention to industrial and commercial development is beginning to be recognised in British India. We have, in this State, our own problems to work out. My Government have, therefore, resolved to provide a proper organization so that both the officials and the public might give to such questions the increasing attention demanded by them . . . The economic inefficiency of our people will be patent to any one who looks beneath the surface of things. I will only invite your attention to two or three broad facts. . . Agriculture, which is our present staple industry, should be practised on more scientific lines. The cultivators should learn to estimate the cost of production and should be taught the elementary mechanical trades; the chief instrument for increasing wealth, should be specially encouraged. We must train skilled workers in wood, iron, clay, leather and textiles and endeavour to provide ourselves with our everyday cardinal wants . . . In our investigation into the economic conditions of the State, the conditions affecting economically progressive countries and the lessons drawn from such comparison should be spread broadcast till the public become familiar and learn to act on them . . . The number of questions requiring attention is so large that officials, single-handed, can do very little for their solution. The non-officials will require guidance and further have not had experience and opportunities of co-operation for public good on a large scale . . . We want earnest workers. It is our object to reach all people who desire to co-operate. Those who have business activities might give some of their spare time; those who have brains might organize; those who have money might contribute to the expenses of the movement . . . The aim we have in view, namely, the economic security and vital efficiency of the people, must appeal to every right-thinking person. We want no ornamental numbers. I hope every one associated with you will work earnestly and persistently and that your combined efforts will achieve some measures of progress calculated to be of lasting good to the country . . . This movement will be what your activities and wisdom may make it.

I appeal to you and through you, to every citizen of the State, to become skilled and capable, and to train your children and children's children in some skilled calling. There is no royal road to success. I hope I shall not appeal in vain if I ask every one, official or private citizen, to actively promote the object of this movement."

The Mysore Dasara Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition awarded prizes to successful competitors in October 1927 and while distributing the prizes, the Mahārāja observed: "I should like here to say this; that in future years I shall hope to see much more Mysore in the mixture. But I shall be still more glad when the time comes that they (foreign exhibitors) come here, not to teach but to learn, not to sell but to buy, not to take Mysore money but to leave their money in Mysore."

The Mahārāja was ever keen on exhibitions and on advertisement of local products, illustrative of the ideal Indian home. He said: "As one travels the length and breadth of India, one sees everywhere illustrations and advertisements of tours, of steamer companies, or places of pilgrimage and of goods and services of every description, but one looks in vain for advertisement of Mysore. The time has come when we can no longer leave our country or our goods unadvertised and unknown. We must advertise as others do; and as we do so, we shall be overwhelmed with visitors to our beautiful and our sacred places and with orders for our goods."

ALL ROUND PROGRESS

Electric Power

In December 1937, Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar visited the delectable spot where the River Shimsha is harnessed in the service of the people, converting a primeval jungle into a hive of industry and in laying the inauguration stone of this project, he said: "One of the greatest achievements of science is the harnessing of the forces of nature to the service of man. Of no force of nature is this more true than of that which we know by the name electricity. This great force is in its way a creator, a destroyer and a preserver. It is used in innumerable industries. It scatters abroad and it gathers together; it welds and it breaks; it cooks and it washes; it

prints and it plays musical instruments ; it transports us and it carries our messages ; it speaks for us, it hears for us and it reads for us ; and it is playing a rapidly increasing part in the curing of disease. It was only in 1882 that electric light was first used on a commercial scale in London, and it was another ten years before the possibility of utilizing electric power at a distance from the generating station was accepted as a safe and paying undertaking. Since the end of the last century, however, hardly a year has passed without some new development taking place, until we have reached a stage when electric power, electric light and electricity for freezing have come to be reckoned among the necessities of life. In Mysore, we are exceptionally favoured in respect of sources of power to be put into harness, and in the genius of our administrators, who have seized upon the opportunity to make this power of the utmost value to the State. Compare with the dates that I have just given you the date 1894, on which Sir Seshadri Iyer first took up the question of the harnessing of the Cauvery Falls at Sivasamudram, and you will see that Mysore was not behind the times. In fact when in 1902 the transmission line from the Cauvery Falls to the Kolar Gold Fields, 93 miles long and operating at 35,000 volts, was put into service, it was the longest high voltage transmission line in the whole of Asia, and the second or third longest in the world. The success of that undertaking is an eloquent tribute to the boldness of spirit, the farsightedness and statesmanship of those who were responsible for it. . . . Installation has followed installation, and the out-put of power has increased from 6,000 h.p. in 1902 to 67,000 h.p. in 1937, (providing) lighting to 150 towns and villages. There are 32,000 lighting installations and nearly 4,000 power installations in operation. . . . One of our sacred texts says that there is no gift that is greater than that of water, and that whoever desires to acquire wealth should give water to those who need it. Another asserts that there has been and can be no better gift than the gift of lamps. Let us use this most wonderful gift of God for the furnishing of both water and lights where they are needed most, and for such other purposes as tend best to raise the standard of life of the people of the State. . . . As you are all well aware

we in Mysore have many ambitions and many projects for the advancement of our beloved State. And one of these is to make our State as healthy a place as any in India."

Medical Relief

As regards medical relief, provision in that behalf is a cause apart from all questions of caste, creed or nationality and as the Mahārāja said while opening the Wesleyan Mission Hospital in Mysore in August 1906, he could conceive of no object to which those who were in a position to give could more worthily contribute. A large number of medical institutions were founded all over the State in subsequent years with public philanthropy and government support. For example, Rajakaryaprasakta Diwan Bahadur K. Ramaswamy of Bombay endowed the Holenarsipur Women's Hospital in the name of his mother. In opening this Maternity Home, His Highness observed: "There is no more worthy object of charity than the relief of suffering. It is nature's decree that women should suffer, in a way that men cannot realse, in order to bring more men into the world. But what nature has decreed man has aggravated and the sum total of suffering that comes upon women at this time in this country is appalling to think of. There can be no better deed than to relieve that suffering in any way in which it is possible to relieve it." As he has also said on another occasion: "It is sad enough to see men and women in pain and tribulation but they at least have had time to acquire the knowledge that much of it is inevitable, and the fortitude with which to withstand it. To little children it comes as something incomprehensible and therefore as something unfair, and while it is so much harder for them to bear, there is also in their case always the chance that treatment given in time may save them suffering throughout their lives. . . It is in itself the noblest satisfaction, and when a man has relieved and brightened the suffering of others, he has succoured his own heart: he will never suffer without consolation." "Wealth has its responsibilities and obligations in this respect and one of the noblest uses to which it could be put is the relief of human suffering," as he observed, many years later, in laying the foundation stone of the Sir Hajee Out-patients' Dispensary at Mysore.

Economic Achievements

His Highness was on the look out for a patriotic Indian who would bring enthusiasm to his work and assist him in the task of making Mysore industrially great. When such a man was forthcoming, he appointed him first as Chief Engineer and later as his trusted Chief Minister. A beginning was made in 1910 for an Industrial Survey of the State and completed in the course of the year. A set of questions drawn up and printed in English and Kannada were circulated to collect information. The Economic Conference was started in 1910-11. Various measures for the progress of the State were taken in hand. The era of economic development of this State thus begun continues to progress, after a short period of depression when stock-taking and consolidation was made. A series of practical reforms, provoking severe criticism at the time, now justified by the events, were undertaken, by the Dewan who was as enthusiastic as his Sovereign in galvanising the people of the State, both officials and non-officials, into activity. By the quiet inspiration and encouragement of the Mahārāja and the energy and zeal of his administration, the Economic Conference made itself responsible for the Bank of Mysore, the Soap Factory, Sandal-wood distillation, Malnad development, Sericulture, Agricultural improvements, Bhadravati Iron Works, Krishnarājasāgara Power and Irrigation projects, Mysore University, Chamber of Commerce and expansion of the scheme for Local Self-Government leading to considerable decentralisation and a preponderance of the non-official element in the working of those institutions, among others.

The years after the great war of 1914-18 were years of depression and retrenchment, as previously observed, utilized for consolidation of the resources of the State with a view to economic stability. The period from 1926 to 1940 may be described as an era of all round progress. Finances of the State prospered, industrial undertakings were strengthened and increased, railways extended their operations, the road transport improved, earlier progressive policy was continued, and rural uplift on all sides received a practical recognition. The project of a division of the waters of the Cauvery with Madras was carried through. With the

project completed, the Irwin Canal with its 9,000 feet tunnel is in active working. Amongst other projects surveyed and completed may also be mentioned the Hemavathi project. We have added nearly 300 miles to our railways, though we still cry in vain for the 14 mile link from Chamarajanagara to Satyamangalam. The whole generating station at Sivasamudram has been remodelled to a capacity of 65,000 kilowatts. The electric lights which started at Bangalore in 1905, have gone on from link after link with each switching on "in the golden chains that will soon, I hope, encircle the State from East to West, from Mulbagal to Hunsur, bringing Mysore into line with the most advanced of Western communities. These yield pleasure and profit and make us able to rival those communities not in respect of this one matter only, but in others also in which we have to win pre-eminence for ourselves in the struggle of life."

In the several public speeches of His Highness, references to the accomplishments of the State during a period of fifty years after the Rendition of 1881 have been made and the following extracted from them and put together will give an idea of the advance the country has made since the Rendition: "It is a little more than half a century now since the Rendition of the State by the British Government to my father of revered memory, and when one looks back over that period, it is difficult to credit the enormous advance that has taken place. The population has increased from four and three-fourths to six and a half millions (it now exceeds seven millions), the revenue from one and one-third to three and a half crores (it now exceeds five crores of rupees). Nature has given up to us new and rich secrets in many directions. The people have grown in prosperity and enterprise. Agriculture has improved; communications have increased; industries have developed, and towns have grown into great cities. . . It is the proud boast of certain manufacturers, in countries that are industrially highly developed, that there is no part of their raw material which they do not convert to some useful and profitable purpose. This is a policy that we are earnestly endeavouring to follow in Mysore. In Bhadravati, we have developed the distillation of wood oils as an adjunct to

the making of iron and steel, and now hope to be able to develop the conversion of the slag into cement. To the day when India will be a land of industries as much as it is one of agriculture, when its surplus labour will be absorbed in the factories and the unemployment among its middle-class will be abated by many openings for them in industry and trade I look forward . . . In such a vision the wisest of our optimists hope that the sites for the new enterprises will be chosen, not in or near cities that are already overcrowded, where further accumulation of population can only lead to further misery, but in pleasant country surroundings where natural facilities abound and where labour can be drawn from the countryside, without distant migration, or the creation of overcrowded slums. If and when such a millennium comes to pass, it will be hard to find a centre for industrial development more favourably situated than Bhadravati, with its abundant supplies of power and water, its facilities for transport, the fertile lands around it and its close proximity to the abundant natural resources of the Malnad . . . We have in paper a protected industry, and protection, coupled with money, has resulted as in the case of sugar, in a very rapid developmet of new factories that may sooner or later result in the weakest going to the wall . . . There is abundance of raw material, power and water, free land facilities for transport, and arrangements for skilled control, and not least an assured market provided the quality is satisfactory. At Mandya we turn waste products of the refined sugar into spirit, or use it for food for cattle, or for laying the dust on our roads. In the case of silk, we have not so far developed this policy, but necessity has taught us a lesson by which I hope we are going to profit from today onwards. So far we have been, as it were, skimming the cream off the cocoons, and reeling the skim to our rivals for them to return to us in the shape of further products. Now we propose to carry out all the processes ourselves. The processes that I compare to that of skimming the cream is the removal of the fine or raw silk from the cocoon. Following that comes a further similar treatment that uses up all that is left in the manufacture of what are known as noils . . . I mean that we should look

forward in a sense of aspiration, a sense of determination, and a sense of prayer that we may be enabled today to erect a monument that will be more durable than brass or stone . . . Don't stop at building a brick wall, but see to it that it is plastered neatly so as to be a credit to the street of which it forms a part. Don't stop at the wall of your house, but see that the wall of your compound is also fair to look upon. And above all, do not devote yourselves only to the cleanliness of your own property, but see to it that you do not pass on dirt to the public road or on to your neighbour's land. . . . Thirty-five bridges were contemplated, out of which, in the fifteen years that have since elapsed, only four have so far been completed . . . The bridge at Ramanathapura is an offering to the mighty river Cauvery. You all know the immensity of the debt we owe to this great river, which grows our crops and lights our homes, turns waste lands to sugar and ores into iron and steel. Her banks are adorned in many places; as at Ramanathapura itself, with temples that are associated with the life of the river. We have adorned her at Krishnarājasāgara with fountains and gardens, and it is fitting that we should join her banks with suitable bridges. I hope the bridge of which I am laying the foundation stone today (1936) will be a suitable addition to those already spanning the river at Krishnarājasāgara, Seringapatam, Sosale and Sivanasamudram. . ."

Progress of Education

The Mysore University was established in 1916, marking an epoch in the development of education in the Mysore State. For, what could be more significant in our history than the creation, at the express desire of the people, of a national University? It is the first University in this country to be founded outside the limits of British India, and is an institution which meets the special needs of Mysore and which will in time have far-reaching effects on the intellectual progress and the material development of the State. His Highness' love for the mother-tongue was great. He said: "I am naturally interested in the special encouragement of Kannada literature which is provided for in the University scheme; we all know that study of the Vernaculars is very apt to be neglected nowadays in both schools and colleges, and I am glad to see that our University scheme provides for a fuller and more continuous

course of teaching, not only in Kannada but also in other vernaculars of Southern India which are spoken in Mysore. . . Our University will also be engaged in diffusing knowledge among that section of my people who, for various reasons, may not be able to participate in the course and discipline appointed for the regular examinations. . . . This end can only be achieved by maintaining a really high standard of teaching and examination and also by never allowing that standard to be lowered, however strongly you may be tempted by the lure of numerical results."

Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar was glad that the Mysore University attached great importance to the study of vernaculars which were made compulsory throughout the course. The University Publication Bureau has been doing very useful work in encouraging the publication of books written in good Kannada. He was particularly interested, too, in the means which were being adopted to encourage the study of Sanskrit. In his address to the first batch of the Mysore University graduates at the convocation of the University in 1918 he also appealed for the introduction of a higher standard of culture among the people of the remote parts of the State who had not the educational advantages of Bangalore and Mysore.

The Mahārāja was anxious that great importance should be attached to the development of character, especially in the Mysorean boy and girl. Addressing the Ursu boys at a prize distribution in Mysore in July 1911, His Highness said: "Now boys, let me say a few words to you. Remember that you are going to be the citizens of the future and that you should, therefore, equip yourselves in such manner 'as become Mysoreans. Be honest and loyal and fearless in speaking the truth. Guard yourselves against carrying or listening to tales and still more, against acting upon them. Observe things carefully yourselves, make your own honest inferences and give effect to them. Seek counsel, by all means, of those qualified to give it but let the decision be always your own. Take the consequences of what you say or do and do not yield to the temptation of shirking responsibility when things go wrong or something unwelcome has to be done. Be manly and do your duty unflinchingly. Respect your masters and elders and

how to constitutional authority. If you have grievances, make a respectful representation of them and do not feel tempted to resent discipline, for you can do nothing worse. Cultivate a healthy mind in a healthy body."

And again in the next year he told them: "I would ask you, boys, to remember that true religion and morality do not consist in merely listening to religious and moral instruction. Try to carry out the lessons which are taught you here, by being honourable, truthful, modest, and high-minded and by doing some good to your fellow-men and always remember that the race from which you have sprung demands a high standard of life and conduct." "There can be no more valuable training for a young man than that which makes him fear his God and do good to his neighbour, or in other words, which teaches him to believe in his own religion, to be a good citizen and to render social service." On another occasion, he observed: "The Young Men's Christian Associations have among their principal objects the creation of new opportunities for what Plato called the purer pleasures, which are the only ones that endure. Such is the pleasure derived from the exercise of our bodies or of our faculties, the enjoyment of the gifts of God in birds and animals, trees and flowers, and all the wonders of the countryside, the acquirement of knowledge, the pleasures arising from music or from art, and above all the pleasure that comes from living for others. There never was a time when the youth of the world more sadly needed to have more happiness in their lives, and there never was a country in which they needed it so much as India."

Speaking at the Vāṇi Vilas Girls' School on the 11th of April 1913, he said: "It is a trite saying that no community can expect to advance when half its members are illiterate and ignorant and I fear that this is a charge which at present can well be brought against our community as a whole. You cannot, with impunity, afford to neglect the education of the future mothers of your children and it is, therefore, none too soon that you have awakened to the true needs of the situation and started this school." And in February 1916, he said that there can be no progress worth the name when half the population is allowed to remain in

ignorance and superstition. "There can be no greater slur on a community at the present day than that its women are uneducated and I say with all the earnestness that I command that the Ursu community must realise its responsibilities in this direction and take time by the forelock and come to the front in this vital matter of education."

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Opening of Mosques

HIS HIGHNESS could speak fluently in Urdu. Opening the Mosque at the Body Guard Lines at Mysore in April 1922, he delivered his reply in Urdu to an address presented to him by the Musalmans there, full of reflections on the spirit of Islam which are significant. "It is one striking feature of Islam that it lays special emphasis on the inestimable value of prayer. Prayer is the chief pillar in the structure of religion. It is a potent means of the moral elevation of man. The Hindu Temple and the Mosque of the Musalman, each ministers to the spiritual needs of its followers. Each is symbolic of that unity in diversity, which will, I hope become in an increasing measure a pleasing characteristic of the motherland with all its diverse castes and creeds. If by providing a part of the Musalman community with a mosque and by coming and taking part in the giving of the same, a Hindu like myself encourages them to become truer Muslims, practising the high principles and following the noble traditions of their religion, I feel happy and amply rewarded. The Almighty God can confer no greater blessing on a ruler than the happiness and well-being of his people, be they Hindus, Muhammadans, or Christians in whose welfare, spiritual as well as material, he is deeply interested. I look upon you all, whether Hindus, Muhammadans or others, as equally dear to me. I hope that you will bear in mind the fact that you are Mysoreans first and all the rest next, owing a duty to the State and that you will always work together for the common benefit and for the prosperity and advancement of the State in all possible directions." In this connection attention might also be drawn to similar observations made by him on the occasion of the opening of New Jumma Masjid at Mysore in April 1927 which are as follows: "Religion

plays a great part in the lives of all of us Indians, and though we worship God in many and various ways, there is a unity in our diversity and all our ways, if properly pursued, lead sooner or later to the same eternal truths. . . It has been a real sorrow to me to see lately in different parts of India great clashes over the externals of religion, showing, if they show, nothing else, a tendency to pursue the shadow rather than the substance. . . When the seat of the Government was transferred to Mysore in 1799, there was no Jumma Masjid in the city and the Muhammadan inhabitants who had migrated from Seringapatam prayed that one might be constructed. This prayer was acceded to by my grandfather (Krishnarāja Wadiyar III) and a mosque was constructed to which he also attached a suitable cash grant for the maintenance of the institution and for the relief of poor travellers at a lungarkhana."

Laying Foundation-Stone of Churches

The Mahārāja was deeply religious; and while laying the foundation stone of Saint Philomena's Church at Mysore in October 1933, His Highness said :

"I believe with deep conviction that religion is fundamental to the richest and strongest life of the nation. There are diverse religions in this land of ours, and frequently there exists a most irreligious hostility between them. But we have gradually been coming to understand that the unity is much deeper than the differences, that while in creed and custom we are far enough apart, in worship and in aspiration we are one. This being so, the creed and custom of each religion among us is surely worthy of reverent study by the followers of every other."

Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭami Celebration

The Mahārāja spent a few days in Kashmir in September 1923 and Śrī Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭami was there celebrated by the Śrī Sanātana Dharma Pratap Sabha which presented an address to him on that auspicious occasion, when in the course of an inspiring reply he said : "Our thoughts naturally turn to the holy nativity and life of Śrī Krishna and our minds piously dwell on the meditation of His divine virtue. We may not attain to the same level of perfection as He ; it would indeed be presumptuous on our part even

to dream of achieving it, but we may at least try to follow His footsteps," and added: "The sacred Hindu religion is the priceless heritage that has been handed down to us by our forefathers and it is, believe me, God's best gift to us." While receiving a copy of the Song of Songs, the Bhagavad Gita, at the same time, he observed, "I am very grateful to you for presenting me with a manuscript copy of Śrī Bhagavad Gita. A more precious souvenir I cannot carry away with me. I consider it precious because it is the Holy Writ which contains the highest ideals of Hindu Philosophy and wisdom leading us to higher planes of thought and action in life. It will always remind me of the part I took in the religious function of this evening."

Mastakabhisekha of Śrī Gomatesvara

In connection with the Mastakābhisekha ceremony of Śrī Gomatesvara, the All-India Jaina Conference met at Śravaṇabelgola in March 1925. Addressing that gathering, the Mahārāja spoke with legitimate pride on the antiquities and the relics of this important State. "I cannot forget that this land is to them (the Jains) a land of pilgrimage, consecrated by some of the holiest traditions and tenderest memories of their faith. This picturesque rock on an elevated table-land was, as a thousand years old tradition has it, the scene where the venerable Bhagavan Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu, leading the first migration of the Jains to the southern Peninsula, broke his journey through the jungles and took up his abode, and tradition still points to the cave in which years after he passed away, in *sallekhana*, leaving his footprints on the rock. It was in this holy land, the Dakshina Kāśī, the Benares of the South, that, as the same tradition has it, the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta, the fame of whose prowess turned away the invincible hosts of Alexander the Great, doffing the emperor's for the ascetic's robe, nursed his master, the Śrutakevali, in his last moments and worshipped his footprints. Since that day, many a royal prince of the south and many a holy monk from the north have vowed themselves to death by euthanasia, that *sallekhana* which answers to the *samādhimaraṇa* of the Hindu Yogi. . . . This is also the holy spot sacred to the Muniśvara Gomaṭa whom tradition represents to have been the younger brother

of Bharata, the eponymous Emperor of Bharatavarsha. The land of Mysore, therefore symbolises Gomaṭa's spiritual empire, as Bharatavarsha stands for the empire of his brother Bharata. For a thousand years has the Muniśvara's colossal statue, carved, it may be, out of huge boulder on the rock and visible for miles around, ruled over this scene, unsurpassed in massive grandeur and sublimity of spiritual power by anything that the Egyptian or Assyrian monuments can show. . . . But Jainism not only formed a second birthplace and house in Mysore, Jainism repaid the debt. For Jainism, if it did not create our Kannada literature, inspired some of the noblest masterpieces of that literature in its early history; and Jama learned men have ever since continued to render signal service to it . . . It is not merely that Jainism has aimed at carrying *ahimsa* to its logical conclusion undeterred by the practicalities of the world; it is not merely that Jainism has attempted to perfect the doctrine of the spiritual conquest of matter in its doctrine of the *Jama*,—what is unique in Jainism among Indian religions and philosophical systems is that it has sought emancipation in an upward movement of the spirit towards the realm of infinitude and transcendence,—and it has made power, will, character, in one word *Charitra*, an integral element of perfection, side by side with knowledge and faith. And Jainism has sought a harmony of all religions and of all philosophical and dialectical standpoints in its *sarvadharmā* and its *anekāntavāda*. At the other end of the scale, in its rock-cut sculptured architecture, Jainism has created a new style and carried it to a pitch of excellence which places the glories of Mount Abu side by side with the mausoleum of the Taj among the architectural wonders of the world. . . . Fortune, however, is depicted as riding on a wheel; every descent leads to an ascent; an *avasarpini* period must be followed by an *utsarpini*. . . . I feel that every educated person should take an earnest and intelligent interest in the political questions of the day and contribute his and (I ought, perhaps to add) her share towards the solution of the problems that must inevitably arise from the necessity of adapting the organization of humanity to the needs of its expanding consciousness. . . . As Indians

your political point of view, as also the political point of view of every other religious community in India, should, in my opinion, be that of India as a whole. So long as the thousand and one different communities into which our country is split up bear this doctrine in mind and act towards one another in a true spirit of brotherhood, we need have no misgivings as to her future. It is when the purely social and religious questions invade politics that vast difficulties arise, difficulties which must inevitably retard the progress of the country. Within the religious and social sphere of each community, there can be no real improvement which does not exercise a beneficial effect on the general progress of the country."

World Students' Christian Federation

The meeting of the World's Students' Christian Federation held its sixth conference at Mysore in December 1928, a few months after the occurrence of certain disturbances at Bangalore in connection with the proposed removal of an image of Śrī Ganeśa. This occasion gave the opportunity for reaffirming the great faith in toleration which was the dominant characteristic of Śrī Krishnarāja's life. "Here in Mysore, before the beginning of your era, the King Chandragupta having turned Jain and left his kingdom on pilgrimage found peace in death . . . Here again each of the three great teachers of Hinduism spent a part of his life. Śāṅkarāchārya, the apostle of the absolute unity of God and all life and the soul, founded here the school in which his memory is enshrined and his work continued. Rāmānujāchārya, fleeing from persecution by the Chōla kings, found in Mysore, even at that early date, that toleration and freedom of speech, which following the examples of my predecessors I have always tried to make one of the watchwords of my government. Later followed Madhva, with his doctrine of the duality of the soul and God, and what may perhaps be most attractive to you as Christians, his teachings on the necessity of bhakti, the love of devotion of the soul for God. Thus you are surrounded here by places in which some of India's best and noblest have breathed out their lives in intense aspiration, in profound meditation, in the safer desire for absorption in God and I trust you will be able to learn something of their spirit and practice, something of their methods . . . Through the labours of generations of

western scholars, the ancient language of the East have been brought to the knowledge of the western world ; Sanskrit grammar and philosophy have been placed on a scientific basis ; texts have been edited ; philosophies unravelled ; and the poetry, history and art of India made part of the common heritage . . . For some centuries, missionaries, many of them men and women who would have won the highest distinction in their own countries, have commended the teachings of Christ to us, not only in word and writing and by their own blameless lives, but by countless practical activities for the good of the people of India. My own dominions have long been enriched by their most admirable medical and educational work."

Communal Amity

On the 24th of June 1918, a deputation was received by him from the members of the Non-Brahmin communities said to be labouring under special disadvantages and seeking communal representation, special facilities for liberal education and for education of the masses. In the course of a characteristic reply, pregnant with a realisation of all that was meant for the welfare of the State, His Highness said : " I may tell you that I quite understand your point of view and I shall see that your grievances are completely and sympathetically enquired into and redressed as far as possible. My ambition is to pursue a righteous policy, as between the various castes and communities in the State neither unduly favouring nor suppressing any community and trying to uplift them all for the permanent good of the country. . . It has always been my earnest desire to see all classes of my subjects represented in just proportion in the public service. The preponderance of the Brahmins in the Government service is due to inevitable causes and I feel convinced that time and the spread of education and enlightenment will gradually remove the inequality of which you rightly complain. At the same time I must tell you that it is far from my desire that any community should in any way be penalised on account of its caste simply because it has worked hard and utilized fully the opportunities for advancement which are open to all my subjects."

We may recall that when the Svetambar Jains (Marwaris) in Mysore presented an address to him ten years later on the 26th of May 1928, the Mahārāja replied that he was the custodian of the welfare and happiness of all his subjects, to whatever community they belonged and assured them that they would receive as much consideration at his hands as he was expected to bestow on others.

PATRON OF LETTERS

The Mahārāja was a great patron of literature and he encouraged the library movement in all parts of the State. Public libraries grew up and along with it a passion for reading. To him, "Books are like men and women. A few may lead us into evil courses; others may be the companions of our idle hours; others again may be our councillors and instructors; others should be our life-long friends. A celebrated critic said the other day that when you open a book you ought to be opening a door into happiness. It is in the belief that the door of the library will be a door to happiness for many of the people of Tumkur, that I have agreed to lay the foundation stone of your new building today."

Mythic Society

The Mythic Society was founded in 1909 and it is today located in its own premises. Its activities are carried on in the Daly Memorial Hall, a building named after Sir Hugh Daly, an able and sympathetic and high-minded officer as well as an intimate and trusted companion and friend of the Mahārāja. When the foundation stone was laid by His Highness on the 31st of August 1916 he said: "I have read the Address delivered by Father Tabard at the annual meetings of the Society for the last two years and I am struck by his love for Mysore and its tradition and his appreciation of the magnificent relics of bygone times found in this country. It will bring together Europeans and Indians to work on a platform for an object which appeals to the higher intellectual tastes of civilised life."

Indian Science Congress

The Mahārāja opened the Indian Science Congress Session at Bangalore on the 10th of July 1917. The last century witnessed

a marvellous progress in the application of science to the needs of man but scientific education in India is in its infancy and her industrial output per head of population is as yet a negligible quantity and he hoped that scientific atmosphere would be developed. His feeling was as he said years later that we had all got to be scientists in a greater or lesser degree. The mind of the nation in a changing world is being built up. We are all awakening to the fact that truth is progressive. Knowledge is advancing with lightning strides and at each stage old standards are tottering to their fall before new ones are ready to be put up. It is for the teachers to supply some sign-posts, temporary though they be, for a generation that may otherwise lose its way.

On Sanskrit Learning

The Jubilee of the Mahārāja's Sanskrit College, Mysore, was celebrated on the 20th of October 1926 and the Mahārāja delivered an address in Kannada in the course of which he observed : " This institution is the centre of Sanskrit learning, from which a knowledge of the rich store of our ancient heritage has radiated to all parts of the State and even outside . . . It has, in fact, preserved for the use of future generations, the essence of tradition and characteristics, on which the structure of our Indian civilization was built in the past . . . Besides, Sanskrit learning embodies a culture, a discipline, a type of humanism, which no other learning, old or new, dead or living, can present to our age . . . For, the knower that stands behind that knowledge, the *ātman* has also to be known, and it is this *ātma-vidyā*, the knowledge of the self, to which the study of Sanskrit opens the way in a sense, which is true of no other literature to the same degree. And this is not a barren knowledge . . . it is indeed the supreme *vidyā*, the science of sciences . . . Oriental art today, is seen to be a new world in itself, the discovery of which is likely to usher in a world of renaissance as creative as the sixteenth century renaissance in Europe. And much of what is unique in this Asiatic art had India for its fountain-head. And it is the spirit enshrined in Sanskrit literature that can alone reveal the inner meaning of that art, in architectural types of temple and pagoda, in sculptural *motifs* of the Natarāja or the Buddha, in generalised lines and

curves of the Ajanta frescoes, or in the melodic systems of the ragas and raginis . . . But deeper than all this is the need of the world today for that sovereign truth which Sanskrit learning utters more clearly, more powerfully, than any other learning or literature—the truth which finds in Brahma and the peace of Brahma, in other words, in the oneness of man and all creations in the cosmic reality and in the realisation of that oneness . . . Sanskrit learning and the spirit enshrined in it are of inestimable value to this world's emancipation and renaissance.”

Indian Philosophical Congress

The Mahārāja's view on philosophy and religion were expressed in addressing the delegates of the Philosophical Congress at Mysore in December 1932. “It was in Mysore that Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu, leading the first migration of the Jains to the south, broke his journey and took up his abode. It was in Mysore again that Śaṅkarāchārya founded the premier institution for the propagation of his philosophy. It was to Mysore that Rāmānujāchārya fled from the persecution of the Chōla kings to preach his doctrines. It was here that Madhvāchārya by his teaching gave an impetus to the Dvaita system. In Mysore again, Veerasaivism has flourished for several centuries . . . We live in times when religion and philosophy alike are being put to the severest tests. New items of knowledge and discoveries are following one on the heels of another at a pace which to many appears to be fraught with grave danger, and there are not wanting those who declare that the very foundations of religion and philosophy are being undermined.”

“Rather am I one of those who believe that philosophy is on the threshold of some great advance. History teaches us that philosophy is ever old and ever new, that it is remoulded out of the crucible of thought of each generation as it passes. Did not Socrates, Plato and Aristotle themselves follow on the period of scepticism associated with the Sophists? In our own country the materialism of the Chārvākas was but a prelude to the profound ethicism of the Buddha. In modern Europe, the destructive zeal of the prophets of the French Revolution coincided with the birth of the great idealistic systems of Kant and Hegel . . . When we

see scientists like Bergson and William James, Whitehead and Eddington, and mathematicians like Bertrand Russell and Poincaré, impelled by the logic of facts to pass on from science to philosophy, have we not reason to hope that the next advance in thought will show a new quality? Nor is the need less great for a renaissance in religious thought. Religions are apt to be too closely associated with particular territorial boundaries. Philosophy is free from such associations; but by its very nature it is confined to an aristocracy of learned men. But each can help the other. Philosophy can aid religion by inducing the clarity of thought which tends to purify it and to disperse the clouds that obscure the truth. Religion can aid philosophy by spreading abroad to the people at large the truths that philosophy has thus revealed. But philosophy that is remote from life forfeits all claims to our homage. It should give us a co-ordinate world-view, which comprehends all the aspects of life including religion. Philosophy can justify its existence only by the creation of a broad-based standpoint for the study of arts as well as of sciences, physical, biological and social. The world today suffers from excessive specialisation and we are apt to miss the broad vistas of life because of our circumscribed outlook. It was not so long ago that politics and economics as well as the physical sciences were nourished by philosophy and grew up under its fostering care. They are now grown to manhood, and are apt to be somewhat contemptuous of their philosophic ancestry. None the less, they need today the guiding counsel of philosophy. Our economic and our political difficulties point to the need for comprehensive thought, a need which philosophy alone can hope to meet. . . ."

Śrī Krishnarājendra Technological Institute

The Śrī Krishnarājendra Technological Institute was founded as a tribute to the Silver Jubilee of the Mahārāja's illustrious reign for twenty-five years and in laying the foundation stone of this institute, His Highness observed: "Never before in all history has there been such an upheaval, such changes of a fundamental character, such an advance in science and investigation, such a multitude of events—each of them

startling in its way—as in the last few years. In its most general form the world situation as we have it today, is a complicated conflict of very powerful, social and political traditions on the one hand, against a spreading tide of new knowledge and an unprecedented onrush of new inventions, that are entirely incompatible with these social and political traditions that still dominate men's minds. We are met together today to inaugurate a project which is to combine in itself a memorial of those twenty-five eventful years and a means of equipping the youth of Mysore to play a worthy part in whatever new adventures the future may have in store."

Kannada Sahitya Parishat

The last public act of the Mahārāja was the speech he delivered on the 30th of June 1940 in the Puttanna Chetty Town Hall of Bangalore on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat "which has for its object the development and extension of the Kannada language and literature, not only in Mysore, but throughout an equal extent of country mostly to the north of the State, which with Mysore, affords a home to 131 lakhs of people who use the Kannada language. The development of what Colonel Meadows Taylor described as 'the sweet and musical' tongue of our country is a matter in which I and the members of my family have long had a very keen interest . . . Languages are living things. They grow by the addition of new words and phrases. As the world develops in knowledge and as science makes new discoveries, they may develop a modern form which is quite different to the archaic, while what we call the 'dead language' continues in some cases to be used, largely for religious purposes. A comparison of a succession of English Dictionaries shows a growth in the number of entries in a little more than a century from 70,000 words to no less than 550,000. It is difficult to make a similar comparison for the Dravidian languages, but the following figures may be of interest. A Telugu dictionary of 1903 has only about 33,000 entries, while Kittel's Kannada dictionary of 1894 has about 65,000. The new Tamil Lexicon has 104,000. But they all fall far behind Sanskrit with 363,000 . . . The Kannada language presents to some extent a case of arrested development . . . I have very

little advice to give you regarding your programme for the future that has not been given you before. Above all things, study purity and simplicity, avoid anything that is not essential to the meaning of what you wish to say. But there is one development that I should very much like to see made. It was Fletcher of Saltoun who said 'Let me write the ballads of the nation, and I care not who may make its laws'. The Karnātaka country is full of songs, most of them going back to the days of Basavanna and the Haridāsas. If these have not been collected and put on record, it would be a very worthy object to collect them and see that they are duly preserved in their original form."

LAST YEARS

Demise of the Mahārāni-Regent

In later years, domestic calamities told on the health of the Mahārāja. His sisters died in quick succession. His mother, the Dowager Mahārāni, Śrī Vāṇivilāsa Sannidhāna, who was looked upon with great veneration by all the subjects of the State and who was a supporter of all that was good and noble and holy passed away on the 7th of July 1934 leaving behind her, memories of kindness, generosity, and womanly sympathy with all classes of the people which continued to be cherished as a personal possession.

Demise of the Yuvarāja

His younger brother the Yuvarāja, who had acquired considerable knowledge of the world by constant travel and whose ideas of reform and progress were in pace with the most progressive and advanced countries of the West, was ailing for several years. He died at Bombay on the 11th of March 1940. His memory lives and is perpetuated all over the State in many and diverse ways. The Yuvarāja was a friend and philosopher of all the leading movements in the State and needless to add his death was a severe blow to the Mahārāja.

THE END

The Mahārāja afterwards took little part in public functions. He fell ill in the last week of July 1940. On the 31st he spent a restful night and a severe heart attack persisted with some variation till his condition became grave and on Saturday, the

3rd of August 1940, he passed away at the Palace at Bangalore at 9 p.m. This news was announced by Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the trusted minister of the State, and all public offices, courts and educational institutions were closed for a period of thirteen days as a period of public mourning and the flags were being kept at half mast till the twelfth day ceremony was over. Minute guns corresponding to the age of the Mahārāja were fired at Bangalore and Mysore on the 4th of August 1940.

The demise of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar was mourned all over India and abroad. His body was taken in the early hours of the fourth of August 1940 to Mysore where it was laid in state and thousands upon thousands of his subjects had collected to pay their last homage to the departed ruler.

A Loving Sovereign

The tribute paid by one and all to the Mahārāja referred to him as a great pillar and supporter of Hindu Dharma, the model Mahārāja being himself both the admirer and nourisher of all the other faiths that existed. There is a chorus of praise of the Mahārāja and his work from all parts of the world. This loving sovereign of his people was described as a man of the highest character, silent and reserved according to the best traditions prescribed for a ruling prince. His life was an object of admiration and high appreciation to all who had seen Mysore, who had heard of it or who had the privilege of personally coming into contact with him. His Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquess of Linlithgow opening the session of the Chamber of Princes, referred to the Mahārāja of Mysore in these memorable words: "His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore was a personality whose accomplishments would have won distinction in any walk of life. As a Ruler, the manner in which he discharged the responsibilities of his great position, his close interest in the welfare of his subjects, his zeal for progress, for the advancement of justice, for the development of a higher sense of civic duty, and the simplicity of his mode of life, all of them impressed deeply those of us who had the privilege of his friendship and who had been able to see him in his own State and the example which he set enhanced the prestige of the Princely Order not only in this country but far beyond its border."

Verily does Rudolf Otto, the distinguished theologian, describe Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar as the impartial protector and patron of all religious communities which enjoy undisturbed freedom under his beautiful sway and as the unwearied promoter of science and culture of economic and spiritual progress, in his glorious land.

“सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानं सर्वभूतानिचात्मनि ।

ईक्षते योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ॥

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।”

इतीदं कृष्णवचनं कृष्णराजोऽन्वपालयत् ॥

Śrī Krishnarāja maintained the ideal of Śrī Kṛṣṇa “One with one’s soul merged in the universal, viewing everything equally, sees one’s self in every being and every being in one’s self.” For, the Lord has said, “I am the same in all beings: there is none whom I should dislike, nor whom I should like.”

Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar is dead : May his soul rest in peace.

Om Śāntih : Śāntih : Śāntih.

S. SRIKANTAYA

A TRIBUTE

IN THE

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY ON THE 11th OCTOBER 1940

BY THE DEWAN, SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., C.St.J.

MY first duty in addressing you today is to pay on behalf of us all a humble tribute to the great soul who departed from our midst on August 3—"so loved, so mourned, so missed." That calamity, the passing of His Highness Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar, for almost four decades our incomparable and beloved Ruler, plunged the State into inexpressible grief. Rarely has death caused so universal, so sincere, so heartfelt an expression of sorrow. Messages of sympathy have come, not only from all parts of India, but from many other parts of the world. The void caused by his death is immeasurable. We know that we have lost a truly great Ruler, a Ruler also whose greatness was universally recognized and acknowledged.

Purity of soul, kindness of heart, generosity of disposition, elevation of purpose, devotion to duty—these are qualities which His Highness possessed in an eminent degree. A gentleman has been defined as one who never willingly inflicts pain. His late Highness was in that sense a perfect gentleman. It has been given to few to pass through life making only friends and no enemies. We, whose privilege it has been to live under his reign, had, therefore, every reason to be proud of him. It is no exaggeration to say that history will record his name among the greatest men that India has produced. At a memorial service held in London, Lord Samuel, in speaking of him, compared him to Asoka. I hope I may be pardoned for quoting from a private letter from the same eminent statesman to myself: "The Princes are few", Lord Samuel writes, "either in our own day or in the past history, who have used the opportunities of their position so wisely and so well

as he, or have conferred such great benefits on so vast a population." Another English friend, writing from England, says: "He was gold all through."

None knew him but to love him,

None named him but to praise.

To all his subjects, high or low, rich or poor, of all castes and creeds, our late Mahārāja had become an object of almost sacred veneration. And yet he was no recluse. Indeed I cannot think of any branch of human activity in which he did not display a keen interest. He was a diligent student of religion and was devoted to the study of philosophy, but he was no less interested in the practical affairs of life—from political problems to town-planning and the care of gardens, from the efficiency and welfare of his troops to the fostering of the fine arts.

A devout Hindu, who lived his religion every day of his life, His late Highness had no antipathy to other religions. He was, indeed, a well-wisher of other creeds; he took genuine pleasure in helping others to practise their faiths. As you doubtless know, I had the unique privilege of being intimately associated with His Highness for nearly half a century. Never for a single moment in all that period did he give me the slightest reason to feel that he trusted me less or treated me differently because I was a follower of another faith.

His late Highness was the embodiment of tolerance, of patience and forbearance, of goodwill towards all. He gave back to his people, in one form or another, all and more than all that he received from them. His personal wants were extremely few; he led a very simple and austere life. On State occasions there was pomp and splendour, such as is, perhaps, to be seen nowhere else in India, but even that was intended for the enjoyment and benefit of his people, not for his own pleasure or glorification.

We all hoped that His Highness would live many years to guide and inspire the State. It is the misfortune of our State, nay, I should say of India, that he should have left us so soon and at such a critical time. He is no more. Do I say "no more?" No, he lives still, lives in the hearts of his subjects, lives in the pages of history.

" And ever near us, though unseen,

" The immortal spirits tread."

His spirit is watching over us, and the only way in which we can now please him is by serving his successor, his State and his people with all the ardour of which we are capable.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Mahārāja is dead: let us with one heart say—Long live the Mahārāja! In turning our thoughts to our new Ruler, I am sure it is your wish that I should offer him our steadfast loyalty to his Person and Throne. He comes to a great heritage, a high position, at an early age. But His Highness is not new to the responsible work that now devolves upon him. Highly educated, well-trained, widely travelled, and well-equipped with knowledge of the problems confronting his State, His Highness will, we are confident, sustain this great responsibility and prove a successful and worthy Ruler of the State of Mysore, the State for which his great predecessor did so much, and which now looks to this young and already beloved Maharāja for further progress and achievement.

MESSAGES

BY AMIN-UL-MULK SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., C.St.J.

Dewan of Mysore

THE proposal of the authorities of the Mythic Society to devote an issue of their Quarterly Journal to paying a tribute to the affectionate and revered memory of His Highness the late Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur has my warm approval. It seems particularly appropriate when it is recalled that the foundation-stone of the Daly Memorial Hall (the building of the Mythic Society) was laid by none other than His late Highness himself about twenty-four years ago.

How deeply interested His late Highness was in the aims, efforts and achievements of the Mythic Society is apparent from the speech he made on the occasion. "The building of which I am just going to lay the foundation stone" said His late Highness, "is intended to provide a local habitation for the Mythic Society and to honour the memory of my friend, Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, who was till recently Resident in this State. Both these objects have my warmest sympathy."

It was on the same occasion that His late Highness expressed his confidence that "the researches conducted within its walls will reveal many a brilliant page in the past history of Mysore."

I feel sure that the Memorial Number will be worthy both of the Mythic Society which has a long and honourable record of public service to its credit, and of the reign of a great and sagacious Mahārāja which it is intended to commemorate.

BY

SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Dewan of Travancore

IT is with great pleasure that I convey my tribute of praise and appreciation of the illustrious Sovereign of Mysore who has just passed away. As I have elsewhere stated, he was not only a great Ruler but one who possessed and radiated culture and all that it implies. He was a student and exponent of many Arts and his appreciation of literary, historic and musical talents made Mysore a nucleus of research and erudition. It is only fitting that a Society like yours should commemorate his name and his many good deeds.

By

THE RT. HON'BLE SIR AKBAR HYDARI
NAWAB HYDAR NAWAZ JUNG BAHADUR, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D.

President of H. E. H. The Nizam's Executive Council

HIS late Highness was universally loved, not merely within the confines of his State which he ruled with such benevolence, leading it on the path of progress and construction, but also outside its borders where knowledge of his greatness, charm and saintliness had made him almost a legendary figure whose memory will, I feel, not only live long but will inspire many minds and hearts.

BY RAO SAHEB SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, B.A., B.L.

Dewan of Baroda

IT is a privilege to send a message to the Śri Krishnarāja Memorial Number of the *Mythic Society's Journal*. His late Highness was the best example of the philosopher King who was the ideal of ancient India and of Plato. He combined in himself the most valuable elements in the culture of India and of the West ; and, under him, Mysore became a model State not only in respect of the latest advances in Western science and art but also in preserving the fundamentals of Indian culture. His example will remain for ever an inspiration to all future workers in this country.

HIS HIGHNESS THE LATE
SIR ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.
MAHĀRĀJA OF MYSORE

AN APPRECIATION

BY THE HON'BLE LT.-COL. J. H. GORDON, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C.
Resident in Mysore

HIS Highness the late Sir Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., of revered memory, succeeded to the Mysore Gādi at the tender age of ten and therefore the Government of the State was entrusted to his sagacious mother who applied herself most diligently to the training of her son for the august office which he was eventually to fill. When he came of age in 1902 to assume full charge of his State, His Highness had already acquired, under the personal guidance of his mother, a fund of knowledge, experience and training which rendered him eminently fitted for his office.

From the very beginning His late Highness considered his rulership not as a mere position to which he had a right to succeed by birth and which conferred upon him certain rights and privileges; but as a sacred trust under which he considered himself to be the head of a large family with obligations to look to the development and happiness of its members however far removed from himself by accident of birth, race, religion or social status. His devotion to duty was consequently so great that he never failed even at the cost of considerable personal inconvenience to interest himself in all matters connected with the administration. The result was that every one of his subjects, of whatever class or community, became so deeply attached to his person that his sad and sudden demise on the night of the 3rd of August 1940 cast a gloom in every home in the State.

Himself a Hindu of the most orthodox, devout and saintly type, His late Highness could well appreciate the beauties of other religions. His attitude towards other religions was therefore not one merely of broad minded toleration, but of profound understanding and sincere appreciation of the goodness and divinity which constitute the fountain head of all religions.

It has been said by an eminent English poet that a thing of beauty is a joy for ever. None understood this better than did His late Highness and as a result Mysore is now famous for its beauties. And what is more, in the fullness of his understanding, he realised the need of spiritual values for the advancement and preservation of all that is beautiful, and was therefore devoted to the spiritual progress both of his State and of his subjects.

In his speech on the occasion of his investiture, His late Highness said "How important are the responsibilities which now devolve on me, I fully realize, and this it is my ambition to prove by performance rather than by words." That His late Highness did realize his ambition fully and pre-eminently is proved by the great reverence with which he was regarded in life and the undiminished reverence with which his memory will always be held not only by his subjects, but by many people throughout the rest of India and abroad.

His Highness has passed away, but he has bequeathed to us the fruits of a long, glorious and sagacious reign which it should be the duty of every Mysorean to cherish and develop.

HIS HIGHNESS THE LATE
SIR ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR BAHADUR, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

AN APPRECIATION

BY SIR D. B. JAYATILAKA,
*Member of Home Affairs and Leader of the
State Council of Ceylon*

IT is not often that in this world of ours one comes across a person equally distinguished for learning and piety, wisdom and practical statesmanship, and nobility of character and purity of life. Rarer still is the combined presence of these endowments found in a royal personage. Such a rare being was undoubtedly the Ruler of Mysore whose demise the civilised world has recently called upon to mourn.

HIS Highness' life reminds one of the ideal King described in our ancient writings. It served as a beacon of light, whose beams pierced the thick veil of gloom and despair that has enveloped the world in recent times. HIS reign redeemed kingship from its objectionable features, while his life added dignity and value to humanity.

The success of the late Mahārāja's reign was doubtless due in the main to the wisdom he has shown in the selection of his Ministers who, like the present Dewan (Sir Mirza M. Ismail), have by their wise statesmanship and administrative ability paved the way to the wonderful progress which the kingdom of Mysore has achieved in all directions during the past forty years.

May the young Prince who has now mounted the throne prove a worthy successor to his illustrious uncle, so that during his rule Mysore may rise to still greater heights of progress and prosperity.

HIS HIGHNESS THE LATE MAHĀRĀJA ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR

BY RĀJADHARMAPRAVINA DIWAN BAHADUR
K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

HIS Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur was not only a great personage, he was a true servant of the people embodying the best qualities of kingship, whether by ancient or by modern standards. He was of the type of ruler who regarded the State not as his personal domain but as a sacred trust, who looked upon his people not as subjects to be kept under and ruled from on high, but as younger members of one great political family to be trained and guided into the path of self-reliance and harmonious co-operation in the common work of national welfare. To that trust and to that task our great Mahārāja devoted all his strength.

Succeeding to the throne at a tender age, His Highness came for some years under the watchful guardianship of a sagacious mother. Ably she ruled the State as Regent with the assistance and advice of experienced counsellors, during such time as he himself was receiving a sound general education and careful training for his kingly vocation at the hands of capable and conscientious tutors. And when in due course he was invested with full powers by the Viceroy of the time, he came to his high office with a well developed mind, and with a firm resolve to make the prosperity of the State and the well-being of the people the one object of his existence.

We know how whole-heartedly he worked to carry out that resolve, not sparing himself nor grudging time, thought or energy in its fulfilment. Such utter devotion to a supreme task could not but win the spontaneous loyalty and attachment of the people—a feeling which contributed in no small degree to the smooth running of the wheels of administration. Wise too he

was in his choice of ministers, of the men who conducted the administration under him, and in the way he supported them in their work for the country's benefit. At the same time he kept in close contact with the business of the State and took a watchful interest in the life and fortunes of the common people. His personality rarely obtruded itself on the details of administration; yet nearly all phases of public activity bore the impress of his influence. •

He well maintained the prestige of his great position by his saintly character and the purity of his life, no less than by the atmosphere of serene dignity and severe restraint in which he moved. By nature and by the circumstances of his upbringing he was reserved and silent, but he was by no means unapproachable. Simple, abstemious and even austere in his ways and habits, his converse with others was marked by much innate courtesy and kindness and by rare social charm. He was deeply religious by temperament, and at the same time full of tolerance, understanding, and active sympathy towards all faiths. Himself a devout Hindu, well acquainted with Hindu scripture and metaphysic, he knew no distinctions of creed or community in the public service or in his own entourage. As a matter of fact he chose a Muslim for his prime minister, and he numbered Christians among his closest friends. He was equally conversant with the classical and vernacular literature of the land and with English. And needless to say of a prince of his tastes and talents, he was a most generous and discriminating patron of art and learning. He keenly appreciated and zealously fostered the fine arts,—painting, architecture, gardening, and, above all, the divine art of music, of both varieties of which, Indian and European, he was no mean judge. On the side of physical accomplishments, too, he showed remarkable excellence. He loved manly games, was an expert rider, and encouraged sport by his presence and countenance. With so many good points of both Eastern and Western culture meeting in him, he was truly an exemplar of what a person occupying that supreme position might well be in the eyes of the world.

It would take too long to dwell on the leading events of the reign now closed, or on those measures of social, political and

economic importance which lent to it such capital distinction. To put it shortly, it was a period of definite progress in almost every sphere of public life, of an earnest striving for efficiency in many directions; it witnessed a growing self-consciousness on the part of the people, and increasing responsiveness on the part of Government; and it reflected a decided impetus from all sides to the fashioning and practical working of representative institutions. If Mysore has a claim to be regarded as a Model State, let it be borne in mind how much it owes in that respect to the statesmanlike initiative, the wise lead, and the progressive outlook which characterized the policy of the late Mahārāja. One has only to look round the country and in the hearts of the people to see in large scale that which must and will remain his enduring memorial.

There are periods in history which have acquired a distinctive character and tendency through the life and influence of certain outstanding individuals. The long reign of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur will without doubt be remembered in the days to come as an era of consolidation and planned progress, and, not less decidedly, as a period of active preparation for far-reaching changes in the social and political structure. The announcement under his Highness' orders of a series of reforms calculated to give the people increased opportunities for participating in the administration of affairs may well be regarded as marking the close of one period in Mysore history and the commencement of another. In the new era that is opening out, the memory of the great qualities, the high aims, and the noble achievements of the Ruler whom we mourn today will assuredly constitute an inspiring example, an abiding influence, and a precious heritage to be cherished by his successors as well as by the people of the State.

IMPRESSIONS

OF

THE LATE MAHĀRĀJA KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR OF MYSORE

BY

DR. C. R. REDDY, M.A. (Cantab), Hon.D.Litt., M.L.C.,
Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University.

IN the late Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar, India has lost a model ruler not easy to replace. Rarely have we had amongst secular powers of the earth such an extraordinary combination of personal and public virtues. Some rulers have been conspicuously successful as administrators, as legislators and as reformers, but in their personal life did not reach high standards of ethical excellence. Others have been very good in their private, personal life, but either too weak or too tyrannical or too reactionary or too dull and despicable, as Heads of State. It is the rare good fortune of Mysore as of some other South Indian States like Travancore and Cochin, that Śrī Krishnarāja was an adorable figure in many respects both as Man and as Mahārāja, a saint and safe statesman in one. No doubt he was not perfect. It is not given to humans to be perfect or to acquire perfection. Shadows there have been, but on the whole lights predominated.

It is difficult to portray his personal traits, as he was by nature shy, uncommunicative, not over fond of company and of a retiring disposition. So far, at any rate, as high officials were concerned, he saw very little of them excepting of course his immediate entourage like his Secretaries and Dewans, with whom he naturally had to be in contact. But even in their presence, with one or two exceptions probably, he did not, if reports speak true, open out fully. It is perhaps likely that in the company of those that were not his officials he moved familiarly and exchanged ideas unreservedly. But though he may not have known his officials personally, it did

not follow that he did not know of them and their work sufficiently to form a sound enough judgment of their worth. He was always gracious on the few occasions he met them in public or in audience, always gracious but mostly reserved. On the whole he was a figure of mystery to most and probably in his life a mystic. The affections of such people usually run narrow but deep.

Owing to the privilege and honour I had of a somewhat close acquaintance with his late lamented brother, the Yuvarāja, I happened to learn something of his personal life and habits. He would rise early, very early indeed. The fresh dewy hours of the morning were devoted to vigorous forms of physical exercise, of which he was very fond and probably took an excessive amount, riding being his especial favourite. He excelled in tennis and was peerless at rackets. Both the brothers were good at polo; and the duller forms of in-door exercise, requiring will and self-regulation, were also gone through fairly systematically. Filial piety was ingrained in his nature and he hardly ever breakfasted without his mother's company. And then a short rest, followed in the afternoon by visits from his Secretaries and office work. In the evenings milder recreations and, when within doors, music. He was an expert in music, both Western and Indian, capable of detecting minutest flaws in composition and execution. I regard him as the inventor of the Indian Orchestra. For I had the honour of being asked by Mr. (now Sir) Mirza M. Ismail, who was then Huzur Secretary, to be present at some private pioneer performances. I was told that once he detected a very small flaw in a gramophone record of a well-known company which had not been noticed by their experts and that the company thereupon withdrew the entire stock of it from the market.

But it was the spiritual side that was the most remarkable. He was austere in his life and outlook, deeply religious without being superstitious or blindly orthodox; not merely tolerant of other religions but benevolent towards every form of deep earnest sincerity, spiritual or humanitarian. The Muslim and the Christian Missionary found in him a promoter of their religious endeavours. The externals of Hinduism, pilgrimages to Kaśī, Ramesvaram, Kailās, and Kedaranath, and baths at Nanjangud, which he attended to and

performed, gave added awakening to his soul and were really means of internal uplift. The most impressive illustration of his soul life, lifted above creeds and ritual, and its application to politics, was his magnanimous support of my action in throwing open the Public Schools of the State to the Panchamas. Orthodoxy was furious and there was a big agitation. I met Mr. Srikanta Sastry of the Sringeri Mutt, a gentleman of fine culture, ripe scholarship and exquisite manners, after his audience with the Mahārāja and asked him to tell me what transpired. We were good friends, though on the subject of Panchama admission to schools we naturally differed. He told me that the Mahārāja had asked him to say whether the Panchamas were not *also* his subjects, a question as pregnant of genuine spiritual virtue and outlook as of human philanthropy, and that had settled the issue! If today Panchama advancement and education have gone further in Mysore than in any other part of India, honour and credit are due to Śrī Krishnarāja, the Mahārāja who stood as a rock amidst the waves of agitation bearing furiously and did his fatherly duty for his Panchama children unflinchingly.

In saying this I must not be understood as subscribing to the facile and flimsy doctrine so cheap to declaim that no non-religious are ever good and that the religious are never bad. In true scientific method, we have to study the workings of faith as well as rationalism. And it is by no means certain that they produce uniform results, whether good or bad, in all persons and amidst all conditions. There can be no doubt that in the Mahārāja religion acted as a power for good without casting the shadows that sometimes its light produces when it strikes opaque obstinate natures.

During my experience as an official in Mysore I could always count on His Highness holding the scales of justice even. No influence could bend him from his duty. I can recall two instances of his sense of justice and moral courage, where I had the misfortune of meeting influential opposition and in high quarters. Given disinterested devotion to duty, honest action, a clear case and cogent reasoning, none need fear that his judgment of right and wrong would be warped by extraneous influences. The Palace

in those days was a real control over Government and the sanctuary of every aggrieved person in the tradition of our ancient Hindu Sovereigns and Muslim Rulers like Nouredin and Saladin. If His Highness adopted an attitude of constitutional correctness in his dealings with the Dewan, he saw to it that a similar spirit prevailed as between the Dewan and the Departments and the higher and lower ranks. So far as I was concerned, this enabled me to concentrate on the promotion of causes instead of propitiation of persons. It was that spirit of equity and constitutionalism, wide-spread and energising, that gave Mysore its peculiarly noble tone and high efficiency.

The administration of Mysore, both in system and spirit, is so indebted to the British Commission and the models it had set up and the traditions it established, that a Historian would find it difficult to disentangle the share due to the Rulers and their Dewans from that which ought to be credited to the great British guides. Mysore has been singularly fortunate in her Dewans. The great Rangacharlu gave it that popular, fatherly and democratic-in-substance touch, which has been its most elevating and pleasing feature. Then came Sir Seshadri Aiyar who started an era of Agricultural and Industrial development, the Sivasamudram Electric Station, the Marikanave Project, and carried further the Rangacharlu tradition of consideration for the poor and the rural classes and free mingling with people. I was told that villagers who came to his place to represent their difficulties were given a meal before they were received officially. He was host first and Dewan next. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao's name will be remembered for the many reforms he introduced and the vigour of his administration. Sir M. Visvesvaraya created a new epoch in Mysore history—the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works, the University, the Kannambadi Dam, Soap Factory, Sandal Factory, Development of Silk, Lac, etc. a host of industries started and another host like Paper and Irwin Canal investigated, young Mysoreans sent to foreign countries for technical training, popularisation of Governmental institutions without democratisation, economic planning, planned educational expansion and a general stir without turmoil—it will be difficult to narrate all the achievements and all the attempts of one of

Mysore's greatest dynamic forces. Of course, there was some haste and some waste ; but on the whole the gain especially in experiment and training, was undoubted. This was the regime under which, though perhaps not entirely by which, Backward Classes Scholarships, the Educational Memorandum, Miller Committee's Report and other measures for working off the accumulated social arrears of Hinduism were introduced. One notes with pleasure and gratitude the excellent manner in which Sir Mirza M. Ismail has maintained and perhaps improved upon these precedents in liberal, humanitarian administration. He has a modern outlook, alert, progressive but not precipitate, speed controlled by the requirements of a safe, sure advance. In true Mughal tradition he is a bulder and beautifier. In true modern style he is a business-like promoter of material prosperity. The Mysore Sugar Factory, extension of Cane cultivation, Mysore Ceramics, Mysore Pharmaceuticals, the Gersoppa Electric scheme, Lac and Paints, Electrical Factory, Lamps, and the large number of Mysore this and Mysore that that one reads about, are a shining list of solid achievements. The Visvesvaraya seeds fell on Mirza soil and burst into luxuriant fruition. But if the Mahārāja had not shone with steady beneficent power, giving warmth and light, neither the seed nor the soil could have produced much.

I fancy that the Mahārāja was not a widely or deeply read man in the generally accepted sense of the term. It was not by sheer force of intellect that he dominated Mysore but rather by character and moral elevation. Contrary to the usual run of Princes, he did not over-estimate his importance or capacity ; and indeed one has reason to think that his innate modesty, his other-worldliness and disrelish of secular life, led him, if anything, to under-estimate his significance in the scheme of things. It seemed to me that he guided himself more by faith in men than in ideas which, be it remarked, is a powerful safeguard against hasty acts and abuse of power, as it always implies, unless it is no more than blind trust or surrender of personality, an open mind, discussion and weighing of *pros* and *cons* before decisions are reached. Provided the repositories of one's confidence are of the right type, this principle works well and

is of special value to monarchs who as a class are perhaps prone to the absolutist temperament which demands obedience more than co-operation. He was an unerring judge of men; and the unbroken succession of good Dewans that he had—most of them good and some of them extraordinarily able and brilliant—is ample proof that his intuitions and judgments were objectively sound and remarkably free from error. In this Mahārāja we have a striking instance of the truth, which is unfortunately not sufficiently recognised, that goodness is as much a passport to greatness as genius.

When he got the right Dewan, as he almost invariably did, he allowed him a free hand and did not interfere with his policies, excepting probably where, as mentioned above, imperative justice required the holding of the scales himself. It has been the tradition in some of the South Indian States such as Travancore and Cochin, for the rulers, though absolute in theory, to conduct themselves with the restraint of Constitutional Monarchs. In this bright page in the History of Indian States, the first name is easily Mysore and the best Śrī Krishnarāja. It requires great self-control to resist the temptation to exercise autocratic powers. I have known Dewans who in temper and act were more dictatorial than the Mahārāja. The moral grandeur of Śrī Krishnarāja is illustrated in his perfect freedom from this weakness of smaller minds, and in this respect he will remain an example that cannot be easily excelled.

The latter part of his reign witnessed the emergence of new forces in the State, a sign that the people were not content with being made fat but wanted to be strong. The object of this movement is, I suppose, to supplement in increasing measure the ideal of good Government, so well maintained in Mysore, by that of self-government. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the recent conditions in Mysore to be able to say how His Highness reacted to this new phase. Furthermore, matters are too near for a balanced judgment to be possible. But it is a tribute to the way Mysore has been ruled and developed by the Mahārāja that such a movement should have arisen at all. His name will be associated with the New Constitution that has been enacted, on the merits of which again it is difficult to say anything decisive. For Constitutions

have to be judged by the way they are operated and the results they help to produce or achieve. It is a matter, however, for admiration that the Mahārāja did show a response to the new disturbing call in the country and endeavoured to carry out readjustments calculated to meet the requirements of the New Spirit. He was neither blind nor deaf to the reformist forces and his wise experiment of a variation of democracy with an irremovable executive is well worth trying. There are no Constitutions so automatically perfect as to be fool-proof or knave-proof; nor any Constitutions so automatically bad that given good-will and good-sense they cannot function as factors of progress. Relatively to so many Governments and judged by results, the paternalistic absolutism in Mysore, restrained as it has been by its own past and innate self-control and filled with benevolent purpose, cannot in fairness be regarded a failure but rather a glorious success. Chamarāja and Krishnarāja are of the order of the Antonines of history and Rāmas of legend. Was Rāma a failure because he did not have a Parliament and a removeable executive? No doubt tests of good and of bad change with the times, and no test—not even Parliaments and Removeable Cabinets—are immune from the vicissitudes of time and circumstance or endure universally and immutably. Let us judge the Mahārāja by the fruits of his reign; and he will be treasured as a consistent benefactor of the State—a true father of his people.

The new Constitution should be regarded as his Last Political Will and Testament and honoured and given a fair trial accordingly. With becoming manners and united moral purpose all round, it has every chance of proving a success. And if it must be superseded, let it be after an honest and earnest trial and not as a victim of theory, since theories cut many ways and never point to but one conclusion. Till now it has been good government without self-government. I hope Mysore will not reproduce the tragedy of self-government without good government. The ideal is combined self and good government of which the ethical counterpart is the inseparable union of rights and duties!

In Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar, a very good and gracious personality, conscientious to a degree, has passed away,

yielding place to a New Ruler and a New Era. He was not brilliant perhaps, but solid, steady and sincere, modest and averse to sensational flashes, pious and benevolent of purpose, of quiet-dignity and calm reposeful manner. His name will remain permanently engraved in the grateful memory of his people and indeed of all Indians; and it would be more than a memory, an active and powerful incentive for his successors to pursue the paths of righteous rule and rigorous devotion to duty and justice and the moral and material progress of the State, making Mysore a model of modernism without altogether uprooting its ancient traditions of culture and politics. His Star will never pale in lustre or influence.

I have tried to give a faithful account of the impression I had formed of the great and good Mahārāja. I do not claim this to be either an exhaustive or an absolutely accurate account, objectively speaking. As many angles, so many visions! No face is perfect, and no mirror is perfect; and the image that is produced between the two is bound to be imperfect.

A GREAT RULER

BY SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

IT is a privilege to be associated in the chorus of tributes paid to the memory of a great ruler of Mysore, Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar, who typified in himself the qualities of a ruler outlined in the Arthasāstra :

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥

“In the happiness of the people lies the happiness of the king and in their good his good: The satisfaction of the people is his and not what he thinks his own.”

The whole of India mourns today the sad demise of an ideal Hindu ruler of spotless purity of life and of unrivalled devotion to duty and a great patron of learning and the fine arts. From the commencement of this century, by his remarkable work and his many beneficent acts calculated for the uplift of the people, and his great concern for their well-being, he secured a permanent place in the affection of his subjects. A man of simple tastes and austere habits, genial, affable and courteous in manners, he was the embodiment of the highest traditions of Hindu kingship. On the few occasions on which I had the privilege to come into close contact with him, I was particularly struck with his unique knowledge of public questions, his intensely religious attitude to life and his simplicity. Indeed his very manner inspired awe and respect for his personality and I felt I was in the immediate presence of one who was truly and genuinely royal.

We have heard of the attraction and enchantment provided by Manasarovara and Kailās in the Himalayan regions for ages and of the devotional visit of Yudhisthira according to the Mahābhārata to these parts in the Dvaparayuga. Hindus and

Buddhists have been pouring in since the creation to these places of pilgrimage and it is said that Akbar the Great sent a survey party to trace the source of the Ganges in the sixteenth century. Explorers like Moorecraft and Sven Hedin have visited these regions but has there been another ruler in the present age who has travelled on foot to these distant places of pilgrimage in the Himalayas? Besides, this Mahārāja had studied nature in her various moods. He had visited the famous vale of Kashmir, with its beautiful gardens and brilliant scenery; Badri on a peak of the central Himalayan axis where Nara and Narāyana did penance to obtain a vision of their Prakṛti in the Svetadvīpa; and among others Kedaranath, Benares and Prayag and Ramesvaram. To him centres of trade and industry, of art and architecture and the holy places were all equally familiar and it was undoubtedly the good fortune of Mysore to have possessed a ruler of the type of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar.

If only nature could guarantee a long line of illustrious rulers of the calibre and stature of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar in Indian States I doubt whether there would be any agitation for drastic changes in the scheme of Government in those states. Limitations to the privy purse, application of rigid rules to personal expenditure, rigorous maintenance of the rule of law and the strict observance of constitutional conventions and proprieties which His Highness observed, I hope will serve as a model to many another ruler in India. If today Mysore has deservedly earned and maintained the reputation of being a model Indian State ever in the van of progress, it is due, in no little measure, to the personality of the great ruler who has just passed away and to the succession of able and talented Dewans who were throughout inspired by his personality. It is the fervent hope and prayer of every patriotic Indian that His Highness Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar, the present Mahārāja of Mysore, who has already given evidence of discretion and tact of a high order, will follow the foot-steps of his illustrious uncle and continue to maintain the best traditions of the Royal House of Mysore.

A LODESTAR OF THE PRINCELY ORDER

BY RĀJASEVASAKTA PROF. B. VENKATANARANAPPA, M.A.

MYSORE has lost a great, gifted and generous ruler in the demise of His Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur. Providence placed upon his head the crown of royalty very early in life and this contributed in no small measure to his all round efficiency acquired by the exemplary training that he received at this impressionable age and to which he fully responded. To those who have watched His Highness' career since his boyhood, his remarkable success in the administration of his State does not come as a surprise. I had the rare privilege of meeting His Highness at close quarters when he, along with his schoolmates, was taken on tour by his tutor and governor, Sir Stuart Fraser, to Masur, near Poona, to witness the total eclipse of the Sun on the 22nd of January 1898. I was one of the party being the Science Assistant to Dr. J. Cook, Professor of Physics and Principal of the Central College, Bangalore, who was entrusted with the duty of explaining and showing through the telescope to His Highness and party the phenomena associated with the Sun during the totality of the eclipse. The simplicity of His Highness' bearing and the intelligent interest that he evinced on that occasion were remarkable. He was throughout life the same simple, sweet, serene, stately and sympathetic sovereign of a superior order. The remarkable soul-stirring speech that he made on the occasion of his formal installation on the throne by Lord Curzon in 1902 is still ringing in our ears. He then said "with all deference, I am able to say that I begin my task with some knowledge of its (the problems of the State) difficulties . . . The desire and the effort to succeed shall not be lacking . . . May Heaven grant me the ability as well as the ambition to make a full and wise use of the great opportunities of my position and to govern without fear or favour for the lasting happiness of my people!" He possessed most of the good

qualities that are associated with an ideal ruler, and it is no exaggeration to say that he considered his subjects, high and low, rich and poor, as his own children and toiled incessantly and successfully to make them happy.

His Highness was a scrupulous adherent to old traditions and observances and led a pure, austere, saintly life. He was no bigot and believed in the oneness of God. Though aware of the weakness of some of the religious preceptors about him, his soul was too high to think that these were the representatives of the faith they professed. His remarkable '*Bhakti*' in the tutelary deity of the royal household and his rigorous observance of all religious formalities coupled with a pure devout heart have made him surmount many difficulties. He not only undertook an arduous pilgrimage to Mount Kailās but subsequently undertook a sea voyage to be profited by personal contact with European civilization as well.

'The remarkable all round advance made by the State during His Highness' regime extending over thirty-eight years is one on which any country in the world may feel proud; and it is no wonder that Mysore is known all over India and outside as a model State. His Highness has been truly described as the "Lodestar of the Princely Order of India."

In Mysore the arbitrary will of the ruler is non-existent and the Mahārāja never wanted to make a show of his personal rule. While he was careful in the selection of his Dewans and placed implicit confidence in them they were equally aware that he was watching them being 'always on the alert. It was peculiarly the good fortune of Mysore to have had a succession of illustrious Dewans of whom Sir M. Visveswaraya is still with us and the last fourteen years of His Highness' administration was presided over by Sir Mirza M. Ismail, an exceptionally patriotic and high minded individual, a close friend and companion of the Mahārāja during his school days and ever since a trusted, capable and loyal servant. With such intimate relationship existing between His Highness and his Dewan, who no less than his master was imbued with the same spirit of service to the people, it is but natural that the

country should advance by leaps and bounds in economic, educational and social spheres.

His Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar though dead in body lives for ever in spirit guiding his beloved nephew and successor Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar Bahadur who in the very short period after his accession to the throne has been idolized by his loving subjects who see in him a worthy successor of his illustrious uncle. May His Highness Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar Bahadur continue to command the same devoted love and loyalty from his able and patriotic Dewan Sır Mirza M. Ismail, for long years to come in the interests of the State and the Almighty bless His Highness with long life, health, happiness and a long prosperous reign, is the prayer of his loving subjects.

A GREAT STATESMAN

BY RĀJASEVĀSAKTA S. HIRIANNAIYA, M.A., B.L.

"A Wise Prince". In these few words pregnant with meaning the Mahatma expressed the greatness of His Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar of Mysore. "Knowledge comes—wisdom lingers"; but our late ruler surprised his ministers and advisers by showing in early youth a wisdom beyond his years. Political wisdom is among the rarest of gifts and if a correct appraisalment of men and affairs is its essence, Krishnarāja Wadiyar had it in a degree hardly equalled by statesmen of modern India. During a reign extending over four decades it fell to his lot to select men to the highest posts in the administration and in discharging this difficult task he displayed a shrewd, almost uncanny judgment. Sir Evan Machonochi who was his Private Secretary for seven years has recorded in his book a notable instance of this precocity.

The position of a constitutional monarch in a full-fledged democratic constitution of the parliamentary type is comparatively an easy one. In political matters he has to submit entirely to the guidance and responsibility of his ministers. A despotic ruler with no constitutional trammels to check his authority will not also find his kingship a difficult task but the *role* of the ruler of a State which has developed modern constitutional devices without wholly adopting the parliamentary pattern is not an easy one. In the administrative arrangements of the State of Mysore the Dewan as the chief adviser and executive officer of the ruler occupies a unique position. He has a dual responsibility, a direct responsibility to the Mahārāja for guiding the administration on sound and proper lines and an indirect but scarcely less important responsibility to the public. The Mahārāja as the source and ultimate repository of all authority in the State must, therefore, delegate adequate powers to his chief minister. At the same time he could not divest himself of his own ultimate responsibility for the

good government of the State. To hold the balance correctly between these two considerations is perhaps the most difficult of the functions of the ruler. It would be no exaggeration to say that Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar exercised this power with rare skill and wisdom. His Dewans were not troubled by unnecessary interference; on the other hand their enthusiasm for progressive measures met with cordial response from the sovereign. Though in matters of high moment and when the larger interests of the State demanded it he did not hesitate to overrule his ministers, as a rule, he lent them his full support even when he could not wholly accept their views. And yet not one of them that did not feel that he was working under his sovereign's eye! The restraint which His Highness deliberately imposed upon his own powers enabled successive Dewans to give of their best to the country during their tenure of office.

Krishnarāja Wadiyar realised the spirit and needs of the times. On three occasions in less than three decades he broadened the basis of his administration by bringing it progressively under the control and influence of the people's will. Today, in the new constitution, is to be found every democratic device except formal ministerial responsibility to the legislature which, however, as we know from the example of the United States of America, is not a *sine qua non* of true democracy.

Somewhat reticent, His Highness hid beneath a calm, dignified and serene exterior unsuspected depths of thought and emotion. Kind, considerate and thoughtful to those around him, no one yet dared take liberties with him. Every one was in his proper place. Perhaps, there was no sovereign of modern times who observed such a rigid separation between self and office as did our late Mahārāja. He loved to live amid familiar surroundings and among his own people for whom, despite failing health in recent years, he toiled ceaselessly and without rest to the last. What was Mysore in 1902 and what is it in 1940? The difference is the measure of the service rendered by Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar to his people.

ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR'S CONTRIBUTION TO DEMOCRACY

BY S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A. (Central).

CIVILISATION is rapidly changing. One wonders whether humanity will survive, at least in its present form after this terrible world war. I am one of those who hope and pray that in India at least, we shall conserve all that was best in our ancient culture and give to the harrassed and distracted world a new message of peace on earth and goodwill to all men. If the hopes of some of us are likely to be fulfilled, it is because of the existence among us of such illustrious and good men as the late Mahārāja of Mysore. Receptive to all modern influences, well versed in modern culture, widely travelled; yet His Highness had a wise conservatism in him which always evoked our admiration. A profound Sanskrit scholar, a devout student of Hindu Philosophy, a real follower of God, he showed in himself how simple faith in God can make a great life purposeful and creative. His encouragement of South Indian music and Hindustani music, and indeed of all fine arts was an inspiration and an example. His simple habits of life almost bordering on frugality, his shy reserve which added to his dignity but withal his overflowing heart for the people of his State and his country, made him beloved of his people and of the people of India generally.

The Mythic Society seeks to link the past with the present and the future. No nation can have a good future unless it has a good past. Thank God, India has a good and glorious past. But we shall fail if we rest content on our past: we must live in the present and for the future. His Highness set us a shining example of planting his feet firmly on the great and glorious past of India, but living actively in the present and hoping and striving for a greater future for his State and his country.

Yes, there were and there are strong political currents and movements in Mysore as there should be. The wave of democracy cannot be stopped by anybody. But there is something in the institution of Hindu Kingship which can play a vital part in democracy in modern India. And if some of us who swear by democracy all the time and want no qualifications for India, still believe that the Indian States, that is the bigger ones among them can play a useful part in the future free life of this country, it is because we have seen and appreciated the life and work of the late Mahārāja of Mysore. The love of his subjects for His Highness has been exalted for all time by Mahatma Gandhi's gramophone record on God.

I hope that the sweet and inspiring example of His Highness' life will be with us and His Highness the present Mahārāja of Mysore who has had the inestimable benefit of being trained by his august uncle will carry on that tradition. I have every confidence that in the future free India that is to be, Mysore will play a great part and when that great part is played, I have no doubt that the historian of India will pay due tribute to His Highness the late Mahārāja of Mysore.

IN MEMORY OF
HIS HIGHNESS ŚRĪ KRISHNARĀJA WADIYAR BAHADUR
MAHĀRĀJA OF MYSORE
(1902-1940)

BY L. K. BALARATNAM

A King there was, and that a worthy King,
And Krishna Rāja was his name,
That from the time he first began
To rule Mysore, loved chivalry,
Truth and honour, freedom and courtesy.

And to that place of freshness, light and rest,
He is gone :
Gone with all his virtuous soul
Among the chosen few,
In manhood's ripeness, power and pride.

He was roaming in his State,
Like the eagle in the sky above,
Loving the light of dawn, the rainy gloom,
And sleeping no more than doth the nightingale.
Though he did not wish to die
But to dwell among his subjects,
His days are ended now.

Well could he sit on his horse, and fair ride,
Well could he sweet songs make, and well indite.
Though he loved and suffered much,
Now he is free from world's touch.

When that mighty King was on the throne,
Love and truth reigned supreme.
The blind and the lame in the roads,
Even these had peace at heart.

In the days of his benevolent reign
Courteous he was, lowly and serviceable.
Good and great things he did for his men,
And many a time he also fed the poor he loved.

And in his State are glorious gardens
Bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossom many an incense-bearing tree ;
And there are forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of good greenery.

Many goodly States and Kingdoms has he seen,
And many Eastern Islands has he been.
His achievements manifold,
And his happiness untold.

Surely they reserved a seat for him
Their long-expected guest, among the very brave, the very true,
And to that companionship which hath no end,
Welcomed him well, their brother and their friend.
Courteous and brave beyond our human air
He is ever honoured for his worthiness.

A good and great ruler is gone,
Gone with all his virtuous soul,
To that country which long ago he heard,
Leaving his good and beautiful name,
To shine on the entablatures of Truth,
For ever :
To sing and sound for ever
In answering halls of fame.

THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, 25th September 1940

RĀJAMANTRAPRAVINA MR. N. MADHAVA RAU, B.A., B.L.

(The First Member of Council)

IN THE CHAIR

THE Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held at the Daly Memorial Hall on Wednesday, the 25th of September 1940, with Rājamantrapravina Mr. N. Madhava Rau B.A., B.L., in the chair.

The proceedings began with the following resolution moved by the Chair and passed, all members standing.

“Members of the Mythic Society assembled at their Thirtieth Annual Meeting desire to express their profound sorrow on the demise of their Patron His Highness Sir Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., the late Mahārāja of Mysore, and place on record their sense of the loss to the State of a great Ruler and Statesman, a remarkable personality and a liberal patron of arts and letters. They tender their respectful condolences to His Highness Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, Mahārāja of Mysore and the members of the Royal Family.”

The Chairman next moved the following resolution :—

“Members of the Mythic Society assembled at their Thirtieth Annual Meeting beg to offer their expression of loyalty to His Highness Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, Mahārāja of Mysore, on His accession to the Throne of Mysore.”

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The General Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya, read the following Annual Report for the year 1939-40.

The Committee of the Mythic Society with great pleasure present to you this evening a report of the Society's activities during the year 1939-40.

It is with the deepest sorrow that we have to refer to the irreparable loss which we have all sustained by the demise of our Royal Patron His Highness Sir Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Mahārāja of Mysore. He was a great administrator, keen sportsman, a lover of fine arts, a friend of the people and a constitutional monarch who was devoted to the well-being and prosperity of his people. It is to his interests, culture, munificence and continued support that the Mythic Society owes its foundation and progress. It is also the substantial contribution made by His Highness' Government that has made possible for the Mythic Society to own a building of its own, where it could devote its chief attention to research connected with South Indian history and archæology.

Rao Bahadur Rājakaryaprasakta M. Shama Rao, a distinguished educationist, the nestor amongst Mysorean scholars and President of the Society for fourteen years passed away on the 5th of July 1939 just on the eve of the last Annual Meeting. Sir Hugh Daly, one of the Honorary Presidents of the Mythic Society and a British Resident in Mysore from 1910 to 1916 died on the 24th of August 1939. The Daly Memorial Hall is a tribute paid by the Mysoreans to his genuine love of Mysore, his scholarly interests, his well-known solicitude for the growth of the Mythic Society since its foundation and his sympathetic and successful statesmanship connected with the conclusion of the Mysore Treaty and other important events which will ever be cherished by us in grateful remembrance. His late Highness Sir Śrī Kantirava Narasimharāja Wadiyar Bahadur, a Vice-Patron of the Mythic Society since its inception, a person of generous impulses and wide sympathies and an ardent advocate of progress known throughout the country, passed away at Bombay on the 11th of March 1940. We have also lost in the death of Col. Rāja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh a high minded person associated with the foundation and progress of the Humanistic Club from its inception, who devoted his energies to bring about a Union of Faiths in India.

Among our other losses by death have also to be mentioned the talented young lady scholar Dr. C. Minakshi; Rao Bahadur

P. Narayana Menon, retired Dewan of Cochin; Pandit S. Somasundra Desikar connected with the Tamil Lexicon published by the University of Madras and a contributor to our journal; P. N. Sundararaja Iyer of Tinnevely; M. N. Ramaswamy Iyer of Bangalore; Rājasevaparayana B. Srinivasa Iyengar of Bangalore; B. Thammaiya of Mysore; B. P. Krishne Urs of Mysore; Dr. M. T. Patavardhan of Poona and S. Anavaratavinayagam Pillai of Madras. We tender our respectful condolences to the members of their bereaved families.

Membership:—The Membership of the Society continues to be steady. We hope that in the current year every member will introduce to the Society at least one new member and thus help us to carry on our work in a more satisfactory manner.

Meetings:—Of the Ordinary Meetings held during the year mention may be made of interesting lectures delivered on “The Modern Exigencies” by Mrs. Shirin Fozdar; “Buddhism and Mysore (according to inscriptions)” by Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu and “The Background of Peace” by Mr. N. R. Vakil.

Finance:—The total receipts during the year including an opening balance of Rs. 26-2-9 were Rs. 3,633-15-1. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,160-5-0, as against Rs. 4,382-1-2 in the previous year. The overdraft secured from the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. stands at Rs. 889-6-8 at the close of the year, while the dues to the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. are Rs. 439-4-0. The Reserve Fund stands at Rs. 12,150-0-0.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per month during the year 1940-41. We hope and pray that this temporary grant will be made permanent and raised to at least Rs. 200 a month, so as to enable us to carry on our work on a more satisfactory scale. We appeal to public philanthropy in support of our activities, which are greatly appreciated in all parts of the world where the name and fame of Mysore are better known day by day. Funds are required to purchase recent publications, to provide book-cases to keep the numerous volumes, to construct a suitable structure to house the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of the books in the library up-to-date.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramanyam of the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. who continues to audit the accounts of the Society in an Honorary capacity for the past fourteen years.

Reading Room:—The total number of visitors to the free reading room attached to the Society was 3,717 as against 3,652 during the last year. Many of the visitors go away without signing in the visitors' book and it is hoped that visitors will be pleased to sign their names in the visitors' book before departing. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table while important periodicals which are bound and preserved are easily available to the visitors also who make good use of them.

Library:—The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books relating to Oriental Research. Scholars from within the State and outside come to the Society for study and research-work in the library. Some important books were purchased during the year under review. The acquisition of valuable periodicals and reports of Archæological and Epigraphical Departments continues. We appeal to all those interested in the work of this institution to present books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research to this library. We are obliged to the Government of India; the several Governments in India and Burma; the Governments of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore, Cochin and Jaipur; the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Annamalai, Allahabad, Patna and Rangoon; and to the various authors and publishers, for sending their publications to the library and for review in the journal.

Journal:—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters and is published punctually and regularly.

Exchange:—Our exchanges exceed ninety amongst which are included most of the important periodicals of the world. The list is being carefully revised from time to time and recently a large number was removed from the list.

Daly Memorial Hall:—The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall

is in constant demand by several institutions both in City and Cantonment. The Indian Red Cross Society, Mysore State Branch, The Society for the Promotion of Kindness to Animals and the Universal Buddha Society were amongst the many institutions which held their meetings in the premises of the Mythic Society.

General:—We offer our respectful felicitations to His Highness Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, our new Mahārāja, on the occasion of His accession to the Throne of Mysore and pray Almighty may give His Highness long life, prosperity and a happy and glorious reign.

The Committee felicitate Sir M. Visveswaraya, a great Mysorean on his attaining the Eightieth Birthday and congratulate Rājamantrapravina K. V. Anantaraman and Rao Saheb N. K. Venkatesan Pantulu on the titles conferred on them respectively and Rajadharmaprasakta K. Shankaranarayana Rao, on the highly coveted Badge of the Silver Wolf awarded to him by Lord Baden-Powell, the Chief Scout of the World.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the Government of India and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

In proposing the adoption of the Report, Rājākaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, added that the membership of the Society should be augmented and appealed for greater help. This being seconded by Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu, was duly adopted.

Electon of the President

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao while proposing Rājākaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, as the President for the year 1940-41, observed that the Mythic Society had erred in allotting a small period like one year for the President and it would do well to have the President for life and referred to the high qualifications, wide knowledge of the country and international reputation which brought to Mr. Subba Rao, the Chair of the President, and was confident with the kind patronage of the Government of Mysore and the able assistance of the energetic and enthusiastic

Secretary, Mr. S. Srikantaya, Mr. Subba Rao's administration of the Mythic Society would be a still greater success. After Capt. Rao Sahib A. Thangavelu Mudaliar seconded the proposition it was put to vote and Rājākaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao was declared elected President for 1940-41.

Election of Office-bearers

Mr. D. Venkataramiah, in proposing the office-bearers for the coming year remarked that the management of the Mythic Society had evoked confidence not only in their members but also amongst the general public. Seconded by Rājasevaprāsakta A. V. Ramanathan, it was put to vote and the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1940-41.

Vice-Presidents

AMIN-UL-MULK SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., C.St.J.

RĀJADHARMAPRAVINA DIWAN BAHADUR
K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA DIWAN BAHADUR
P. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, B.A., B.L.

RĀJASABHABHUSHANA
DIWAN BAHADUR K. R. SRINIVASIENGAR, M.A.

RĀJASABHABHUSHANA K. CHANDY, B.A.

DR. E. P. METCALFE, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.

SIR D'ARCY REILLY.

ARTHAŚĀSTRAVISARADA MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA
VIDYALANKARA PANDITARĀJA

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRI, B.A., Ph.D.

RĀJAMANTRAPRAVINA S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI, B.A., B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer

S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

Editors

S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, M.A.

Branch Secretaries

ETHNOLOGY—RĀJACHARITAVISARADA RAO SAHIB

C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

HISTORY—REV. FATHER C. BROWN, M.A.

FOLKLORE—B. PUTTAIYA, B.A.

COMMITTEE

The above *ex officio* and Messrs.

E. G. MCALPINE, M.A., J.P. PROF. A. R. WADIA, B.A., Bar-at-Law.

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.Litt.

RĀJASEVĀSAKTA PROF. B. M. SRIKANTIA, M.A., B.L.

DR. E. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., M.B. & C.M.

J. R. ISAAC, B.A., M.B.E.

A. N. RAGHAVACHAR, M.A.

DR. K. N. V. SASTRI, M.A. Ph.D., F.R. Hist.S.

CAPT. RAO SAHIB A. THANGAVELU MUDALIAR

V. T. TIRUNARAYANA IYENGAR, M.A.

The Chairman of the meeting, Rājamantrapravīna Mr. N. Madhava Rau, rising amidst acclamation and cheers, delivered the following address :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to the President and members of the Society for the honour they have done me in asking me to preside on this occasion. I wish at the outset to congratulate most heartily the Executive Committee upon another year of fruitful work. The membership of the Society continues to be steady, its publications are maintaining a high level of erudition and general interest, while its utility as a research institute for all local and visiting historians and orientalist continues undiminished. Finance is still a difficult question, but if ladies and gentlemen who are in possession of rare and valuable books can make a present of them to the Society, if authors will consider it a duty to remember to include the Society in their distribution lists, and if exchanges of the Society's Journal with foreign publications increase, this problem of finance will naturally be reduced to small proportions. The urgent needs of the Society, are, according to the annual report, book-cases for the old books and an up-to-date catalogue.

It is more than a century ago that Lord Macaulay deplored the absence of a true history in India and referred contemptuously to the Indian books on the subject as abounding "in kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long" while our geography, according to him "was made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Unconsciously or even deliberately, Macaulay confused history with mythology. He might have remembered that the Puranas do not profess to be history any more than the book of Joshua or Gulliver's Travels. Making allowance, however, for obvious exaggeration, it cannot be denied that in essence his indictment was partly justified. If, however, Macaulay's criticism was also meant to imply that the Indians lacked a historical sense and aptitude for accurate research, that reproach has been effectually removed by the work of a large number of Indian scholars who have helped to reconstruct the history of India. The fact that a great part of their labours had to be devoted to the reconciliation of dates and identification of historical places and personages is at once a measure of the difficulty of their task and a reminder to us of the importance of preserving contemporary factual data for the benefit of future generations.

There is a movement nowadays to promote the writing of history on scientific lines and histography, as distinct from the collection of historical material, is receiving critical attention. The object of writing history it is held, is not a mere interpretation of known facts, but the discovery of all facts relating to a subject and honest presentation of them. There is room for the personality of the historian, none for his bias.

The Government of India have set up a Historical Records Commission and have made their own archives available as nuclei of the Commission's activities. It is understood that all the Provincial Governments in India and some of the Governments of States including Mysore, are taking an active part in the work of the Commission. The Indian Historical Congress which has come lately into existence considers the products of historical research in a comparative light and stimulates scholars to persevere with their efforts or proceed to unexplored fields as the case may be.

In these activities Mysore has had its due share. Under the joint auspices of the Mysore University and the Mythic Society, we are training a band of workers whose sole task is historical research. The Archæological Department of the University has a score of publications to its credit, but its

greatest contribution to Indian history and culture is the series of studies and reports by individual scholars. Dr. R. Shama Sastri and the late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar have given us such valuable accounts of the Karpātaka Arts and Architecture out of their archaeological surveys that they take their place easily with historians like Bhandarkar and Jayaswal. The excavations of Candravalli and Brahmagiri are bound to result in the discovery of data which would put Mysore on the historical map of the world before the birth of Christ. A further attempt at the exploration of inscriptions may reveal a Kannada which is older than that of the Halimidi inscription or a civilisation earlier than that of Aśoka. The Mythic Society is ceaseless in its investigation of ancient history on the side of religion, ethnology and South Indian literature.

In a speech made at this Society in August 1916, Sir M. Visveswaraya observed

“Concerning the objects of the Society I am reminded of a couplet which described the work of a noted antiquary who lived at the beginning of the 18th century :

“Quoth Time to Thomas Hearne
Whatever I forgot you learn”

“The Mythic Society” he added “is trying to keep alive information which, but for its timely succour, is liable to be lost to the world... and to be consigned to ‘oblivion’s uncatalogued library’”.

These good offices are needed not only with reference to the literature and historical evidence of the ancient and mediaeval times, but equally with regard to recent and even contemporary material. It is gratifying to learn that some of our research workers are trying to specialise in the history of Mysore in the nineteenth century and to explore official records in the Secretariat and elsewhere for this purpose. Dry-as-dust as these records may appear, lacking the halo of a remote past, they may still prove to be valuable to the student of history. The Domesday Book, as you will remember, was nothing more than a statistical record. Historical personages tend quickly to become legendary and it is no

small service to the country to preserve the memory of such men as Dewan Purniah and Sir Mark Cubbon in its true perspective.

History is generally preoccupied with the doings of the great. It exalts the king, the soldier and the political or religious leader and pays insufficient attention to the common man. If it is admitted that history should be more demographic than dynastic, the wealth of material that can be obtained from official records, even those which lack the dignity of constitutional documents, is indeed very great.

Going through the pages of the Journal of the Mythic Society one cannot fail to notice the large space devoted to disquisition on philosophy and religions. This appears to be both natural and proper. For philosophy and religion are the very texture of our civilisation. Their influence might have varied but they never ceased to be living forces even in the darkest epochs of our history. And their principles, which tend to universal love and charity and which insist not on the good of the greatest number but on the good of every living creature, are all the more needed today when the world is troubled and perplexed and faced with the risk of losing all sense of spiritual values.

Rev. Father C. Browne, while proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the distinguished Chairman of the evening referred to his valuable services in the past and the keen interest which Mr. Madhava Rau was evincing in the work of the Society and expressed his confidence that he would continue his interest in the activities of the Society.

With three hearty cheers to His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, proposed by Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary, the meeting terminated.

**Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Mythic Society, Bangalore,
for the year ending the 30th June 1940.**

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
1. Subscription—		Rs.	A. P.	1. Establishment—		Rs.	A. P.
Resident Members ...	202	0	0	Pay to Staff ...	805	8	0
Moffussil Members ...	227	0	4	Electric Charges ...	170	2	0
Life Members ...	20	0	0	Water Charges ...	16	6	0
				Municipal Tax ...	12	8	0
2. Government Grants—				Cycle Account ...	50	8	6
Govt. of Mysore ...	1,800	0	0	Livery to Servants ...	34	2	0
„ Library grant ...	300	0	0	Garden ...	70	11	6
„ India ...	300	0	0	Premises ...	75	0	0
				Electric Accessories ...	16	10	0
3. Interest and dividend	628	0	0				
4. Sales ...	119	4	0	2. Journal—			
				Printing & Postage ...	2,118	6	3
5. Advertisement ...	5	0	0				
6. Miscellaneous ...	6	8	0	3. Library—			
				Books Purchased ...	29	12	0
				Book Binding ...	153	6	0
				Subscription to Papers ...	93	0	0
				Miscellaneous ...	60	10	3
				4. Stationery ...	104	14	6
				5. Expenses on Lectures ...	42	7	0
				6. Miscellaneous ...	277	0	6
				7. Bank Charges ...	29	4	6
Total Rs. ...	3,607	12	4	Total Rs. ...	4,160	5	0
Overdraft on 30-6-1940 ...	889	6	8	Overdraft on 1-7-1939 ...	336	14	6
Opening Balance ...	26	2	9	Closing Balance Rs. ...	26	2	3
GRAND TOTAL RS. ...	4,523	5	9	GRAND TOTAL RS. ...	4,523	5	9

Reserve Fund (at Face Value)—		Rs.	A	P.
Government of Mysore 5% Stock	...	1,500	0	0
Government of Mysore 6½% Bonds	...	250	0	0
Government of Mysore 4% Stock	...	9,800	0	0
Mysore Bank Share (one)	...	100	0	0
Fixed Deposit in the Bank of Mysore	...	500	0	0
TOTAL Rs.	...	12,150	0	0

Certified correct
(Sd.) T. M. S. SUBRAMANYAM
Hony. Auditor

(Sd.) S. SRIKANTAYA
General Secretary & Treasurer

THE HISTORY OF MYSORE

BY RĀJASEVĀSAKTA

DEWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D.

THE territory constituting the region of South India under the rule of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore became a distinct and separate political entity within comparatively recent historical times. The State of Mysore as such therefore is a post-Vijayanagara entity ; but the territory included in this State has a history reaching back to comparatively remote times. We shall attempt here a brief account of this region constituting the present State of Mysore under His Highness' rule.

Almost from the beginning of the history of India, India could be regarded as composed of three distinct geographical entities, namely Hindustan, comprising within it the plains of the Indus and the Ganges including in it the territory called in orthodox parlance *Āryāvartta*, between the Vindhya and the Himalayas, extending from sea to sea. The next region was generally called *Dakṣiṇa* or *Dakṣiṇāpāda*, the southern roadway from the view, perhaps of the Āryan folk of Hindustan ; and this vaguely included the two historical divisions of South India in very early times. But almost from the beginning of the historical period, this vague southern division developed into a plateau region of the Dakhan geographically, and the coast and river plains of the south. To be a little more precise, the Dakhan, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Dakṣiṇa*, constituted the plateau region of the Dakhan extending southwards from the Vindhya as its base to the river frontier of the Krishna-Tungabhadra, occupying the northern skirts of the southern extremity of the plateau called the Mysore plateau in geography. Although therefore the plateau region actually extends to the point where the Nilgiris slope down into the southern plains, political considerations and political history alike have restricted the central, or the plateau region, to the

part north of the Krishna-Tungabhadra. That marks the southern boundary and what we understand by the term Dakhan nowadays is the region between the Vindhya and the Krishna-Tungabhadra river frontier. All the south including in it the coast region going northwards even beyond this Krishna frontier constitutes what is generally called South India, to distinguish it from the other two divisions. The region with which we are concerned in an attempt at the history of Mysore falls within the third division of South India, and we shall therefore deal with it as such. Put in another way, this would mean the country south of the fourteenth degree of north latitude more or less, the northern boundary forming an irregular line extending from Karvar in North Kanara on the west coast down to say about the latitude of Gudur on the east coast.

The region south of this in the earliest time to which our present historical knowledge reaches was divided into a number of political divisions, of which three constituted kingdoms under crowned monarchs, Cōla, Pāṇḍya and the Cēra respectively along the east coast, the south and west coast. The region left outside of these kingdoms proper was divided among a number of chieftains of lesser rank, described as such in the earliest Tamil literature, in the earliest times known to us. This was the condition at the commencement; and this kind of a division meant as such a struggle between the monarchies and the chieftaincies for the establishment of a more stable order. This was a gradual process, and in the course of that struggle lasting perhaps a couple of centuries the petty states had to give place ultimately to the three kingdoms pure and simple, so that we may say roughly that about the end of the third century *A.D.* the three kingdoms of the south stood forth as the only political entities. Then we come upon the movement of a people which seems to be one of a migration southwards from the north. The first hint we get of it is in connection with a Mauryan invasion southwards which is said in clear terms to have come pushing the Vaṇḍikar folk in front of them. These Vaṇḍikar occupied the belt of country immediately north of the Tamil land proper, and it looks as though they occupied the whole width from the region of Tirupati and Pulicat on the east to at least the present-day north frontier of

Mysore. We get in classical Tamil literature a Vaḍuka chieftain by name Erumai, who seems to have held rule over the great bulk of northern Mysore of today, and the country adjoining, and to the east of him were the same people over whom ruled a famous chieftain by name Pulli of Vōṅgaḍam (Tirupatī). The region a little to the west of Citaldrug on the northern frontier of Mysore gets to be named as the *Vaḍukar-Munai* in Tamil, meaning the frontier region, or the frontier post, of the Vaḍukas and the people to the south. In later literature we get references to these Vaḍukas as far south as Southern Kongu, although in that very literature we have references which state clearly that their original homeland was along the northern frontier indicated before. According to a thirteenth century commentator on the *Tolkāppiyam*, the Telugu country and the Kannaḍa country proper lay beyond the region occupied by the Vaḍukas. The term Vaḍuku and Vaḍukar in modern Tamil would mean Telugu and the Telugus. But in those earlier days we have to regard them as a people distinct alike from the Telugus and the Kannaḍigas, speaking a language distinct from both Telugu and Kannaḍa. It seems very likely that they were a people whose modern representatives may be the Badagas of the Nilgiris. The migration of these people began in the Mauryan age, and seems to have continued for long. The establishment of a new power in the Tamil country called the Pallavas generally, in the Sanskritised form of the word, but originally from Tonḍaiyar from the region from which they came, the Tonḍamanḍalam, rather than from perhaps any other peculiarity, followed later on. It is this protracted popular movement that upset the political condition of the Tamil land in the south, and when some kind of an order was evolved from out of the chaos, we see a fourth power established in this region, the Pallavas with their capital at Kañci and the region, Tonḍamanḍalam, as their peculiar possession. The character of South Indian History correspondingly changes into one of a struggle for the establishment of this new power in overlordship over the Tamil country as such. Thereafter the states of this particular region had to reorient themselves. The establishment of the Pallavas firmly in Kañci in the fifth century A.D. brings a new power across the northern

frontier into conflict with it, and that is the people who are generally described as Karnāṭaka but called by their dynastic name Cāḷukyas.

The centuries from the fifth to the middle of the eighth proved to be a period of struggle between these two powers for hegemony and this brings a new set of small states into existence in the region covered by the State of Mysore today. During this period of struggle we get to hear of the Gangas ruling Gangavādi 96,000, taking into it the bigger half of what is now Mysore State, then the Nolambavādi 32,000, occupying the region east and north-east of what is Mysore and Banavāsi 12,000, the districts west and north-west of what is now the State of Mysore. We shall now have to take up briefly the history of these.

In the sixth and the following centuries the Pallavas in the north of the Tamil country and the early Cāḷukyas so-called from the Karnāṭaka part of it, were in conflict along the whole frontier between them in the region of what, in the previous period, was the region inhabited by the Vaḍukas. This struggle lasted for about two centuries and a half and came to an end with a change of dynasty, the Cāḷukyas giving place to the feudatory dynasty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This change of dynasty took place in the middle of the eighth century, the actual date of the revolution being A.D. 754. The Pallava power during more than a century preceding this date had been pressed hard by the rising Pāṇḍyas from the south and the Cāḷukyas in the north and north-west. When therefore the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came into power, the Pallavas would have been in a comparatively difficult position, but for the fact that the attention of the rising power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had to be all against another new power coming into prominence in the north, the dynasty of the Gurjaras, whose territory lay in Rajputana, and who soon occupied the region of Central India. When after a period of struggle against the rising power, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas felt their northern frontiers safe and turned their attention to the south, they found themselves in a position successfully to press the Pallavas south, and occupy the bulk of territory constituting the present State of Mysore. It was in the course of this struggle that the Pallava power as such went out

of existence, giving place to the rising dynasty of the Cōlas from the south. This change is dated very near the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. about 872; till then the Cōlas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were face to face all along the same frontier. After a period of difficult struggle, the Cōlas gradually gained the upper hand when a revolution in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty brought into power another dynasty of the Cālukyās called by historians the Later Cālukyās with their capital, not at Bādami as the older dynasty, but far away into the heart of the Nizam's Dominions, first at Yatagiri, and then at Kalyāṇi. Then began the battle royal between the Tamil Cōlas and the Karnāṭaka Cālukyās which lasted practically a whole century in which the point of contention between them may be regarded as peculiarly the block of territory now comprised within the State of Mysore. It was the Cālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI who definitely defeated the Cōlas under Kulottunga I, and took possession of Talakāḍ, the capital of the Gangas. The Cōla Kulottunga and the Cālukya Vikramāditya, both of them great rulers, came to an understanding after this defeat, and the block of territory included in Mysore became definitely a part of the Karnāṭaka empire of the Cālukyās. When, in the course of the century following, the Karnāṭaka empire of the Cālukyās declined and ultimately passed out of existence after suffering a usurpation under Bijjala, the Cālukya empire broke up into three blocks of territory, the north-west under the Yādavas with their capital first at Junnar, and then at Paithan; similarly the block of territory in the east and north-east of the empire passed on to the feudatory dynasty of the Kākatīyas with their capital first at Anumakoṇḍa and later at Warangal, the southern block similarly taking in the whole of the territory of Mysore occupied by the feudatory dynasties of the Hoysaḷas with their capital at Dvārāvātī or Haḷabeīḍ, Talakāḍ retaining its importance in the south. It is this dynasty of the Hoysaḷas who ruled, from their capital within the limits of the Mysore State, the whole of the territory constituting the Karnāṭaka country, almost synonymous with the Kannaḍa country of more modern times. The Hoysaḷas may therefore be appropriately regarded as the first rulers of the territory constituting the present State of Mysore.

The Hoysaḷas began as the great southern viceroys of the Cāḷukya empire and gradually consolidated their territory by successfully opposing the expansion of the Cōḷa authority, gradually pushing it back till it was put an end to in this region by the capture of Talakāḍ early in the twelfth century by the first great ruler of this dynasty, Viṣṇuvardhana. Fighting against the Cōḷas in the south and the Yādavas, a sister feudatory dynasty of the Cāḷukya empire in the north, he laid the foundations of a state which included the bulk of what is now Mysore. It was his successor grandson that finally overthrew the Nolambas of Nolambavāḍi, and, annexing it to his own territory, actually built up the territory now constituting the Mysore State with a frontier on the north extending considerably beyond what is the northern frontier of Mysore today, and well into the regions of the Karnāṭaka territory, now called the Southern Mahratta country. This was in the last decade of the twelfth century, the actual date being A.D. 1193. Thenceforward the Hoysaḷas were able to maintain their northern frontier more or less with steady success. They had however to keep vigilant watch in the south, and not only carry on wars on the frontiers, but take advantage of the decline in the power of the Cōḷas and the struggle that those Cōḷas had to maintain against the aggressive Pāṇḍyas of the farther south. The whole of the thirteenth century we may say South Indian politics happened to be dominated by the intervention of the Hoysaḷas. In the course of this struggle the Hoysaḷas under Narasimha II and his son Virā Sōmēśvara found it necessary to have an alternative capital in the Tamil country to maintain their position against the aggressive Pāṇḍyas, and in support of the Cōḷas. This capital was Kaṇṇanūr-Vikramapura on the northern side of the Coleroon, and set over against the island of Śrīrangam. The struggle between the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas now grew far more serious till at last the Pāṇḍyas succeeded so far as to put an end practically to the Cōḷa empire and occupy the large bulk of the Cōḷa country notwithstanding the resistance of the Cōḷas assisted by the Hoysaḷas. As a result of this struggle the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas remained the only two southern states. The two powers however could not come to an understanding and build up

a united power, as they were left to themselves practically. So they went on fighting against each other and were in that condition even when unexpectedly the Muhammadan armies of the Khilji rulers of the north broke in upon the south. In the course of this struggle between the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, the frontiers of the State of Mysore became better defined, and a state somewhat larger in size than the present State of Mysore had been completely formed as one political unit. This got to be more definitely defined in the struggle of the last Hoysaḷa ruler in his efforts against the Muhammadan invaders.

When the Muhammadan invasions broke in upon this part of the country there were, as was stated already, but two rulers in South India in any power, the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. The division between the territories of the two was fairly clear, the Hoysaḷa territory was confined to the plateau and the plains were in the possession of the Pāṇḍyas. The invasion designed to proceed to the south came as far as Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency, and carried a raid across against the Hoysaḷa capital, and did it substantial damage in the attack. Hoysaḷa armies were held up in the South and Vīra Ballāḷa could not, on that account, put all his forces against the enemy. After suffering a defeat and even partial destruction of his capital, he thought it prudent to come to terms with Allaud-din who was prepared to treat him generously. A mission, which went under the Hoysaḷa prince, was sent back with honour, and the Hoysaḷa for the time being was recognized ruler of his kingdom. Vīra Ballāḷa therefore had to maintain himself in that position, and continue nevertheless to carry on providing for the defence of this frontier to keep this part of India independent of Muslim rule. The change of rulers and the occurrence of political revolutions in Delhi helped him to some considerable extent; but the Muhammadan hold tightened when the Tughlak regime established itself in Delhi under Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. It was under this ruler that South India was brought under Muhammadan authority right down to the Pāṇḍya capital, Madura, where a Muhammadan garrison was actually established in 1328. Almost immediately began the difficulties of Muhammad in Hindustan, the distant south being left out of

Muhammad's efforts to re-establish his authority on the score of distance alone. The Muhammadan government of Madura established itself independently of Delhi in 1335, and that gave the opportunity to the Hoysāḷa. He had to strain his resources and carry on the campaign to destroy this Muhammadan government in the distant south to assure himself of his independence. In this effort he had achieved considerable success. But in the last crucial effort of extinguishing this Muhammadan power, he fell in battle at the moment of victory by a mere chance of war. Hoysāḷa Vīra Ballāḷa's death in the battle of Kaṇṇanur-Koppam, the Cobban of Ibn Batuta and called Trichinopoly, in the Aiyāṅkere inscription, removed the only stout opponent of the establishment of Muhammadan rule in the south, and the struggle had to continue for another generation before the Muhammadan hold was brought to an end.

The way that the Hoysāḷa Vīra Ballāḷa went about organising his effort to dislodge the Muhammadans gave that organisation a chance to continue the struggle effectively, and even achieve success ultimately. Just before Vīra Ballāḷa came to the throne, the Hoysāḷas had to maintain a struggle as against the somewhat aggressive Yādava rulers of Devagiri in the north and the northern frontier had to be put into some kind of order. Subsequently with the extinction of the Pāṇḍya power in the south brought about by the gradual establishment of the Muhammadan power there in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, Vīra Ballāḷa had to make a steady effort to dislodge the Muhammadan garrisons left behind in various centres in the Tamil country ultimately to overthrow their authority by destroying the Muhammadan provincial government, established in Madura. It is in the successful culmination of this movement that Vīra Ballāḷa fell in battle at Trichinopoly. The Muhammadan state of Madura nevertheless remained when the Hoysāḷa power was still in authority to the north of Trichinopoly as it were. Vīra Ballāḷa left a successor who seems to have ruled for three or four years after him, but whose work during this short period remains obscure, as the sources of information available do not throw any direct light. But those who succeeded him in that responsibility of protecting the northern frontier against further incursions of the Muhammadans either from Delhi, or far more from the newly

established Dakhan kingdoms of Gulbarga, had to bear this responsibility. The war had still to be carried on against a dynasty that held itself in power in Madura. In the course of this struggle emerged five brothers, and a son of one of them, who carried on the struggle till at last this prince, Kumāra Kampana destroyed the Muhammadan state in the south at Madura, and thus brought about the establishment of what ultimately turned out to be the empire of Vijayanagara at Hampi on the Tungabadra. It thus seems clear that this empire developed from out of the Hoysala kingdom, the territory of which constituted of what is now the State of Mysore, somewhat extended, but otherwise more or less identifiable. This kingdom under the Hoysalas did not have the name Mysore, as in fact Mysore perhaps was not yet a place of any particular importance.

Vijayanagara thus founded, under the stress of war between the Hoysalas and the Muhammadans, represented the southern resistance organised by the last great Hoysala monarch, though the names of two brothers Harihara and Bukka stand intimately associated with this foundation. The foundation is believed to have been laid in A.D. 1336 by these two brothers, of whom the elder ruled for about twenty years, the younger brother succeeding him afterwards. It is this latter that continued successfully the policy of the Hoysala ruler after his brother, and succeeded ultimately in destroying the Muhammadan Sultanate of Madura. Bukka thus brought the whole of the southern block of territory under the control of the newly founded kingdom with its capital at Vidyānagara, as it was called, to become later on the famous Vijayanagara. The war had to go on almost till A.D. 1378 and something like a formal declaration of the Hindu kingdom which became the Vijayanagara empire has had to wait till A.D. 1382, when Bukka's son Harihara declared himself emperor in full style. In this empire what is now the State of Mysore lost its integrity, but remained an important part of the home territory of these rulers with Halebid still as alternative headquarters. Three viceroalties, the headquarters of which were at Āraga in the Shimoga District, Penugonḍa just outside the Mysore frontier in the east, and Mulbagal in the south formed the central block of the empire. But

the empire actually claimed authority over the whole of the south, and had practically to maintain itself against the Muhammadans of the Bahmani kingdom, preventing them from advancing further south. The empire of Vijayanagara therefore lasted from say, A.D. 1336, six years before the death of Vīra Ballāla down to, we might say, A.D. 1672 when that empire might be held to have gone out of existence really, though nominally it might be said to have continued for a whole generation longer. But we are not concerned with that story so far as the history of Mysore is concerned.

It was under the Vijayanagara Emperor Venkaṭa I, A.D. 1585 to A.D. 1614 that the State of Mysore as such, came to its birth, perhaps we may call it a new birth. Under Emperor Venkaṭa the whole of the empire was divided again into three viceroyalties, one of which was at Seringapatam, another at Candragiri and the third was the headquarters of the empire, Penugonda. The Seringapatam viceroy was an elder brother of Venkaṭa, and Venkaṭa himself was viceroy of Candragiri holding authority over the whole of the south, the eldest brother of them all Srīranga was the ruling emperor, ruling the country from the headquarters of the empire and exercising direct government over the northern portion of the empire. Viceroy Rāma of Seringapatam died leaving behind two young sons, and the viceroyalty had to be carried on by a deputy. Some time after Venkaṭa had actually succeeded to the empire, he sent his elder nephew Tirumala to the viceroyalty of his father. The younger prince continued to live with the uncle at the imperial headquarters, which had now been at Candragiri. The relation between the nephew viceroy at Seringapatam and the emperor does not seem to have been altogether cordial at least in the later years of the viceroyalty. Among a number of chieftains among whom the territory of what is now the State of Mysore was divided were a certain number of enterprising chieftains of minor degree; the most enterprising among them was Rāja Wadiyar of Mysore, whose patrimony extended over a small number of villages round Mysore itself. As constituted at the time this Mysore chieftain had a small force of his own at his disposal. He gradually made use of it to extend his authority over his immediate neighbours gradually gaining in power. He found

the opportunity when the coolness between the nephew and the uncle had risen to a degree when he could fairly expect an attack upon the viceroyalty would not bring in the imperial resources against him. Rāja Wadiyar took the opportunity, turned out the viceroy of Seringapatam from Seringapatam itself in A.D. 1610, and took possession of the territory dependent thereon. That laid the foundation of a comparatively small kingdom of Mysore so-called. He regularised this acquisition by appealing to the Emperor, Venkaṭapatrīyā, and obtaining from him a charter conferring upon him the rule of what was the Seringapatam viceroyalty of the empire. This became ultimately Rāja Wadiyar's kingdom. Thus was founded the kingdom of Mysore which had its headquarters perhaps at Seringapatam; but Mysore still continued to be the seat of the ruling dynasty.

Passing over a few generations anterior to Rāja Wadiyar we may take it that the history of the present dynasty of Mysore brings with him historically. Having achieved that dangerous eminence by means not altogether politically safe, Rāja Wadiyar had to steer a course against the petty jealousies and rivalries within, and a possible offence to the imperial authority. Through a score of years and more, when he was in authority, Rāja Wadiyar consolidated his position against the other chieftains of his rank around him making himself master of the Mysore District extending northwards perhaps much beyond its present limits, but hemmed in on the eastern side by the river Kaveri and beyond by the powerful viceroyalty of Channapatna. His policy proved on the whole successful when he left to his successor a small but compact kingdom. Although his immediate successor was a comparatively weak ruler, and there was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction to the actual succession, the little kingdom came to no harm. Rāja Wadiyar did much to fortify and improve the town of Mysore and left behind him monuments of his administration. When the next powerful ruler Chamarāja Wadiyar succeeded to the throne, he came to a heritage which was not without danger from outside, but was fairly compacted and safe within. The period of his rule coincided with a crisis in the empire of Vijayanagara, and the breaking into the far south of the Muslim invasions from

Bijapur and Golkonda as the result of the treaty dictated by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in A.D. 1636. This treaty permitted them to extend their territory to their heart's content along their southern frontier, while securely blocking them from any effort at expansion to the north where he had just reconstituted the Mughal viceroyalty. The viceroyalty of Burhanpur now included in it the newly conquered kingdom of Ahmadnagar, in some respects, perhaps the most important of the Bahmani kingdoms. Chamarāja Wadiyar therefore had to put himself in a position of readiness to meet the new enemy from Bijapur so far as he was concerned, as the viceroys and governors of Vijayanagara in his immediate neighbourhood to the south. He pursued a careful policy on the whole and kept at peace with his powerful neighbours managing at the same time to get across the Kaveri and gradually putting an end to the Channapatna viceroyalty. This marks the second stage in the expansion of authority of the State of Mysore. Mysore territory now extended to the Bangalore District even extending a little further into parts of the Kolar District. The addition of the Channapatna viceroyalty and the territory dependent thereon brought immediately, and, as a direct consequence, the new State of Mysore into contact with the other viceroyalties of the empire, particularly the important viceroyalty of Madura. With the accession therefore of Kanthīrava Narasārāja Wadiyar, Mysore was brought into active contact with the viceroyalty of Madura, under the greatest of the Madura Nāyaks, Tirumala Nāyaka on the one side, and the Muhammadan state of Bijapur in the north on the other. Such a position naturally brought him into close touch with the empire of Vijayanagara, the neighbour just across to the east. Kanthīrava Narasa was a powerful ruler, who not merely carried on the administration with success, but held his own against the two enemies both north and south, and maintained his relation with the empire with consummate diplomacy. He took care, within the limits of the State of Mysore itself, to gradually extend his authority, carrying the northern frontier to the frontiers of Ikkēri, a province gradually coming into prominence. So with Ikkēri on the north-west and Bijapur in the north he had to keep a watchful eye and had to maintain his position as a loyal member

of the Vijayanagara empire, though the subordination to that empire would serve him well or ill as circumstances admitted. He was as good as independent, but took care to see to it that he did nothing capable of being construed as disloyal independence of the empire in the trying circumstances in which he found the empire placed. Kanthīrava's reign was troubled by the rebellions of his own Daḷavāys whom he had to keep under control. He was on the whole successful in this effort. He organised an annual Dasara festival and made it an occasion for official inquisition to see none of his nobles became too strong for him. The advance of the Muhammadan powers from the north, both Bijapur and Golkonda, bore heavily upon the empire. The open disaffection of the Madura viceroy, and the doubtful allegiance of the nearer viceroy of Ginjee made the position of the empire in between, extremely precarious, and the Emperor Sriranga, who had recently succeeded to the empire, found it a very difficult task to maintain his position. On more than one occasion Sriranga had to look forward to the support of the Mysore ruler, and he had that support. It was when the misfortunes of the empire gathered and made recovery seem impossible that Kanthīrava, by an overt act, indicated that he was prepared to assume independent authority, although ostensibly Mysore constituted a loyal member of the empire to the end of Kanthīrava Narasa's reign. It came to an end almost with that of the great Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura.

He was succeeded by a collateral in the absence of a direct heir to Kanthīrava. This was Doddadēvarāja Wadiyar of Mysore. He pursued the same policy as his predecessor, and consolidated the position of the Mysore territory within the State of Mysore, keeping a careful watch to prevent the Bijapur invasions coming into Mysore territory, and providing against a possibility likewise against an advance from the south from the viceroyalty of Madura. In the last years of his reign, he had to face the combined effort of his neighbours ostensibly in the name of the Vijayanagara empire. The combined army of the Madura viceroy, the governor of Ginjee, the Mahrattas, perhaps the army of the empire, all of them joined and undertook an invasion of the Mysore territory by the passes leading up along the Kaveri valley from the side of Erode.

Doḍḍadēvarāja Wadiyar seems to have felt the combined forces against him too strong to meet single-handed. Although he put forward all his resources against the invading enemies, he seems to have felt that he was too old to lead the armies himself, and had not a competent general to entrust the expedition with. It was on this critical occasion that Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar, his nephew, a young man still under his tutors, volunteered service. But Doḍḍadēvarāja Wadiyar managed to detach from the alliance the Madura ruler by diplomacy. The rest of the army was defeated and put to flight by his own forces in a battle fought near Erode, the last battle fought ostensibly on behalf of the emperor by the emperor himself and the greater viceroys of the empire. The event is dated A.D. 1669. The position of Mysore was now perfectly safe; an attempt at invasion by Sivappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri on behalf of the emperor proved abortive. The emperor was left to struggle for his existence on his own behalf. The great viceroy of Madura, Tirumala Nāyaka died; and there was a new succession there. So Mysore could pursue its course, the rivalries between Bijapur and Golkonda diverting their attention from Mysore for the time. Doḍḍadēvarāja himself died soon after, leaving the destinies of the rising State of Mysore to a young monarch, his nephew known to history as Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar.

The accession of Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar marks an epoch in the history of Mysore under the Wadiyars. Under his predecessors the State had been formed and compacted, and, with the defeat of the imperial troops by Doḍḍadēvarāja Wadiyar, Mysore had gained a recognised position in the South Indian politics of the time. Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar's accession marks the period of crisis in the history of the empire of Vijayanagara. After the defeat of the combined armies in his behalf at Erode by Doḍḍadēvarāja Wadiyar, he had to find a position of safety for him only in or near the territory of the Ikkēri chieftains, and seems to have made Belur his headquarters almost to spend the remaining years of his life there. In the year or two following Chikkadēva's advent to power, an invasion marched upon Mysore under prince Kōḍaṇḍarāma of Vijayanagara, perhaps with the active assistance of Sivappa Nāyak of Ikkēri, but had been beaten and turned back from somewhere

near Hassan in Mysore. That is so far the last effort on behalf of the Vijayanagara emperor for a reassertion of his authority over Mysore. We do not seem to hear any more of the emperor afterwards. Without any formal declaration of independence, Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar was enabled to comport himself as independent ruler, and he did.

At the very outset of his reign, Chikkadēva had to meet some kind of trouble from the more powerful of his subjects, and he had to get rid of the trouble by bringing about something like a massacre of the leading rebel folk. In the account as it has come down to us, it is made to appear as though it were a rebellion of the Śaiva Lingāyats against the exercise of authority by the learned Jain Pandit Visha Lakshana Pandita. Having got rid of this trouble, Chikkadēvarāja felt himself secure and devoted himself to a complete reorganisation of the administration of the state under him. He was assisted by two ministers, who were his own teachers, namely, the Jain Pandit already mentioned, and his successor, a teacher and minister named, Tirumala Aiyangar. With these to help him, he reorganised the whole of his territory under him into a recognised number of *gadīs* or districts, and set over them officials responsible to the government. He organised the work of the central government by establishing the well-known eighteen *kacheries* (*aṭāra kachēri*) as the Government public offices are called even now among the people. There were ambitious states around him, particularly on the south and the north, and Chikkadēva had, throughout his reign, to maintain his position as against them. Nevertheless he managed to find time for the organisation of the civil government, and even construction of useful public works. One remarkable attempt by this ruler of a very useful character is the attempt to dam the Kaveri somewhere near the present-day Krishnarājasāgara, and improve thereby the irrigation resources of the state. It is on record, in some of the letters of the Jesuit Fathers of the Madura Mission, that four such attempts at damming the river failed on account of heavy rains. Perhaps the only memorial left of the great engineering effort is the somewhat more limited Chikkadēvarāja Sāgara Channel which irrigates a part of the district now. That this scheme was not a mere fable perhaps can

be inferred as there is an inscriptional record of Tippu Sultān making an effort to revive Chikkadēvarāja's project. But it does not appear to have advanced beyond the stage of a project possibly because Tippu's power came to an end before that. During the bulk of the period of Chikkadēva's reign, both Golkonda and Bijapur, the Muhammadan powers, were involved in the life and death struggle against the advancing power of the Mughal empire under Shah Jahan and subsequently under Aurangzeb. In the later years of Aurangzeb's reign, Bijapur fell, and so did Golkonda in the year following. The fall of these two Muhammadan kingdoms opened the way to the south completely. After the fall of Golkonda it is stated that the Mughal emperor sent out embassies calling for the submission of the states in the south, of which perhaps the most important at the time were Mysore and Madura. A return embassy went from Chikkadēva to the Mughal emperor under one Linganna, and the mission was graciously received, and was sent back with honours. Aurangzeb is said to have presented insignia of value, of which a throne happens to be mentioned. The expenditure of the mission is set down at 2,000 pagodas for Mysore. This would mean that Mysore agreed to recognise the suzerain royal authority of Aurangzeb, and was allowed to go on in Mysore as before under Vijayanagara. Gingee had gone out of existence. Tanjore had come into the hands of the Mahrattas as subordinates of Bijapur, and with the fall of Bijapur, the political existence of Tanjore was perhaps at an end. It was only distant Madura that was left. There is a story that the young ruler of Madura spurned the imperial mission and turned them away, pointing out that it was a pity that the emperor should be surrounded by such foolish people who would send him only one shoe instead of a pair, and of such a small size as to be unfit for wear, referring to the Mughal mission, and holding it up to ridicule. When missions like this are sent, a decorated state elephant fully caparisoned carries a single shoe on its back demanding acknowledgment of the superior authority of the empire by showing respect to this symbolical shoe. That was the customary way of demanding allegiance which the young Nāyak of Madura turned into ridicule. We have no record of whether anything had been done to punish the Madura Nāyak. Perhaps.

that gave the occasion for subsequent efforts at conquest, which ended in the abolition of the Madura viceroyalty by the treacherous act of Canda Saheb, about half a century later. The Mughal armies were nevertheless active in the south, the principal incident of this activity being Zulfikar Khan's conquest of the territory in South India ending in the fall of Gingee after a twelve years' siege, and the foundation of the Nawabship of Arcot in 1710 experimentally, though the actual foundation of Arcot and the Nawabship may be dated a few years earlier in 1705. During all this warlike activity in South India, Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar maintained his position in peace. He died in 1704 just three years before the death of Aurangzeb himself. He was succeeded by a son called Kanṭīravanarasa, and he seems to have been a dumb prince, and Tīrumala Aiyangar, the loyal minister of the father conducted the administration under the son. This rule of the dumb king was followed by that of two successors who both had the name Kṛṣṇnarāja Wadiyar, distinguished by the epithets the elder and the younger. Both of them were peacefully inclined rulers. The first of them enjoyed a reign of comparative peace and devoted his time to peaceful organisation and large donations to acts of piety and charity. The quiet and peaceful reign of the father changed under his successor, to some extent in response to change of circumstances from outside. The administrative power gradually shifted from the Mahārāja to the ministers, and naturally brought on along with it the natural consequences of partiality, favouritism and internecine quarrels for the possession of authority and gaining the ears of the king. In the course of his reign, the administrative power passed completely into the hands of two brothers, Daḷavāy Dēvarāja Urs and Nanja Rāja Urs who between them concentrated all authority in their own hands, the elder Daḷavāy carrying on the administration at home while the younger was active beyond the frontier fighting the wars of Mysore. It is this Nanja Rāja Urs who was responsible for enlisting in his forces capable military men, and, among the most distinguished, happened to be Khande Rao, the Mahratta, and Hyder Āli, a Muṣlim. The Muslim conquest of the rest of South India was going on gradually, and the consequent wars gave the opportunity

for Hyder Āli to rise to power under the Mahratta Khande Rao with the countenance of Nanja Rāja Urs. Having been appointed Foujdar of Dindigul, Hyder Āli not only had the chance of distinction, but in those days opportunity also for adding to his military forces and acquiring money. He therefore took the opportunity of a domestic dispute between the brothers, Dēvarāja Urs and Nanja Rāja Urs to gradually concentrate all power into his own hands and assume the administrative authority in the state without any overt act of rebellion. He however carried on the administration in the name of the Mahārāja so long as he lived, though the Mahārāja was more or less a prisoner in his palace. During the last forty years of the eighteenth century, Mysore was under Muhammadan rule, Hyder Āli going on till 1784, Tippu Sultān being the succeeding ruler till the fall of Seringapatam. The whole of this period for Mysore was a period of struggle to maintain itself against the Mahrattas from the north and the Muslims of Arcot nominally, but really the East India Companies of the English and the French. Hyder Āli and Tippu Sultān rendered valuable services in successfully maintaining the independence of Mysore as against the formidable Mahrattas under Hyder Āli, and against the combination of the South Indian powers and the European Companies later, till at last by a combination of all these under the British East India Company under Wellesley, Tippu was overthrown and Mysore was conquered with the fall of Seringapatam.

The death of Tippu Sultān and the fall of Seringapatam brought the Mysore State to a political condition almost approaching a new birth. The war was against Tippu as ruler of Mysore by the states in the neighbourhood and the East India Company as a neighbouring power also. These powers went to war against him simply because the policy pursued by him was detrimental to the interests of the British in India. The defeat and death of Tippu Sultān should ordinarily be regarded enough. In such a case the normal course of action would have been to let his successor, that is, the natural successor, take his place under the terms of a treaty which would debar him effectively from pursuing a similar policy. But the position was complicated by the fact of the existence of the

legitimate ruling dynasty of Mysore through some of their regular descendants. This involved the question whether Hyder and Tippu were to be regarded as mere usurpers. If so, it would be justifiable if the British Company and their allies interfered to restore the Hindu state and entrust the government to the heir of the Hindu rulers, if one such were living at the time. There were princes belonging to the ruling family at the time. The Marquiss of Wellesley, the Governor-General, who was responsible for the introduction of the Subsidiary System, would naturally take the opportunity to create another subsidiary state under a ruler whose gratitude and mere feeling of prudence alike, would make him adopt a policy unlike that of Tippu. So he chose a ruler not connected with the family of Tippu, but born of the Hindu family of the Mysore rulers. So after much consultation and discussion, the heir of the not altogether supplanted family of Hindu sovereigns of Mysore was restored and the state handed over to him. A treaty was concluded which laid down the terms on which the Mahārāja Śrī Krishna Raja Wadiyar Bahadur III was placed upon the throne, and the act itself is called the Rendition of Mysore. Mysore was therefore made over through him to the original rulers, under the terms of a treaty laying down clearly the relation between the paramount power and the ruler of Mysore for the time being. The administration was carried on for him by regent Purniah for the first few years, after which the state was handed over to the Mahārāja, who ruled for another twenty years on his own account. In the actual condition of affairs, the state was not easy to rule as there were disturbing elements to be kept carefully under control and possible disturbances to be quelled when they broke out. There was much room therefore for complaints against the new ruler, and the Government of Lord William Bentinck, on the basis of reports received, resolved upon taking over the administration under the Subsidiary System. It turned out, however, that the administration of Krishnarāja Wadiyar was not altogether responsible for the bad state of affairs, and Lord William Bentinck himself, who recommended the taking over of the administration, regretted the measure. Notwithstanding this, the administration remained in the hands of the British for a period of fifty years, 1831 to 1881, Mysore

having been ruled by a British Commission, the Mahārāja leading a retired life. Apart from the unfairness to the Hindu ruler, the administrative system introduced proved not altogether satisfactory. The position was complicated by the Indian ruler, not having a legitimate heir, having adopted a son. The difficulties were however got over ultimately, and the rendition took place in the year 1881. The prince adopted was placed on the throne under the terms of a new treaty. This was in the year 1881: for half a century following the state was under the rule of two Mahārājas. Mahārāja Chamarāja Wadiyar Bahadur ruled from 1881 to 1894. He died comparatively young and was succeeded by his eldest son, just a boy of ten years at the time. This was the late Śrī Krishna Rāja Wadiyar Bahadur, whose reign was a long one of 46 years, during 38 of which the administration was carried on directly by himself, coming after a regency of eight years under his talented mother, the late Mahārāni Regent of Mysore. This long period of peaceful administration marks a period of constructive progress under a series of administrators, who take high rank among Indian administrators, and their exertions have resulted in building up Mysore to the condition of a Model State. The first Dewan after the rendition was Dewan Rangacharlu, a trained administrator with considerable experience in the British service. He laid the lines of administration well and wisely, and the administration has been going on since then on those lines. Short as his administration was, the credit of the foundation of a popular assembly was due to him, and that body has continued to progress in the name of the Representative Assembly which has now given place to a re-modelled Representative Assembly. He was succeeded in the administration by one who was his *Cōla*. Dewan Sir Seshadri Aiyar conducted the administration of Mysore almost to the end of the regency of Her late Highness the Mahārāni-Regent for a period of eighteen years nearly. Sir Seshadri Aiyar was hailed a remarkable man. To his initiative happen to be due various measures and projects which have since borne full fruit for the benefit of the state. Since His late Highness the Mahārāja, Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur took over the administration directly in 1902, the state had a steady course of

progress all round, and has attained to the high degree of prosperity it now enjoys. The Mysore Railway started under Rangacharlu has received very considerable expansion under succeeding administrations. Vast irrigation projects and many schemes for the supply of drinking water were put through. Some of the larger ones were initiated by Sir Seshadri Aiyar ; but the start thus made has gone on steadily continuing, and the policy has so far been continued successfully that there are two or three schemes of very recent origin yet in course of completion. The development of electrical power has been one which has already achieved great success. The application of this power to production on an industrial scale has been started and is going on. Administrative measures like agricultural relief and co-operation, educational expansion, progress in sanitation, and even the growth of Representative Government have received unflinching attention and there has been steady and uniform progress all round. It cannot be said that there are not those who do not complain of the inadequacy of progress ; but it would be difficult to say that substantial progress in these directions is not recognised by all.

The last fifty years of administration after the rendition has been for Mysore a period of reconstruction on carefully thought-out progressive lines. The administration as a whole, and the succession of administrators who ruled have always had their eye to insure successful working, as far as is humanly possible, of various departments of the administration, not merely to achieve success, but to insure the well-being of the population entrusted to their care. For the most part of it, it had the direction of a ruler who, though young in age when he came to his high position, so thoroughly intuned himself as to assure successful work in the interests of his people and in the disinterested discharge of his high duties. In passing away after over forty years of active administration, Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, the late Mahārāja, leaves behind him an example to those who follow and a flavour in the administration of selfless and disinterested public good. The young Mahārāja has thus a heritage not merely of a progressive state, but an illuminating example and an ennobling ideal set by his predecessor. He comes into his exalted office with a good education and high qualifications.

What is much more than these, he has had the benefit of association with his predecessor in the administrative work of the State during the last few years. We feel assured that Mysore has a brilliant future under his lead though he comes to the leadership young at an important and critical stage of the administration.

THE KANNADA MOVEMENT

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IN this short sketch, I propose to give a bird's-eye view of the Kannada Movement, its origin and development in the last fifty years.

First we may glance briefly at the literary harvest of a thousand years. The Kannada country was known to the Mauryas, as evidenced by the Aśōkan inscriptions and traces of the Kannada language begin to appear by the beginning of the Christian era. Whether it is the language in the Greek comedy of the Oxyrhyncus or not, a definite specimen of it appears in the Palmidi inscription of c. 450 discovered by Dr. Krishna, and from the fifth to the tenth centuries, records of old Kannada are found all over the country in abundance. Literature was at first confined to folk-tales and folk-songs in the tripadī and other pure Kannada metres, not now extant. The Renaissance in Sanskrit of the second to the seventh centuries A.D. gave an impetus to the development of a classical Kannada literature; the diction, the metres, the ideas, the subject-matter and the literary forms are all sanskritised and the folk-poetry, the *onakepūdus* (ಎನಕೆ ಪಾಡು), songs of the pestle, fall into disrepute. The missionary efforts of the Buddhists, perhaps, at first and of the Jains led to a great cultivation of the language and the first great outburst of poetry on classical lines began with Amoghavarṣa Nripatunga in the ninth century and within a century of this, our first great poet, one of our greatest, appeared in Pampa (941). A brilliant period of Jain writers followed till about the middle of the twelfth century, when the second great outburst occurred, inspired by the great Vīra Śaiva Reformer Basava. The Jains continued to write, but the future was with the followers of the new religion. A real revolution was created in the sympathy and support extended to the native idioms and metres and evolution of new metres,

welded to native music; the themes were confined to the sports of Śiva and the heroic lives of the Saints (Śaranas)—all addressed to the people at large. There was a thorough democratic upheaval. Vaçanas were written by over two to three hundred of the Śaranas, led by the great leaders like Basava, Cenna Basava, Allama Prabhu, Siddharāma and Akka Mahādevi, spreading the universal truths of religion and the special tenets of the Vira Śaiva creed. The earliest and greatest of the poets in this line is Harihara of Hampe (c. 1200). Another three hundred years, and the next wave of great poetry followed with Kumāra Vyāsa, whose name is associated with the god Vira Nārāyaṇa of Gadag. These were the palmy days of the Vijayanagara Kings, and the reorganisation of the Vaidic Dharma under Vidyaranya, Sāyaṇa and other leaders of the three Brahmin schools of philosophy—Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita. This fresh impetus was exhausted after the fall of the "Never-to-be-forgotten" Empire, and the Muses kept on harping a minor note at the courts of the Palyagars and in petty, local Mutts, but no new creative inspiration came, and when the British entered upon the scene and took a hand in empire-building, Karnāṭaka lost its life's freedom, its integrity was shattered and the song died out of its heart and the light out of its eyes.

The present map of Karnāṭaka (a mere name, the ghost of the glory that was, waiting to be re-born) is a sad reminder that the Kannada people have no common administration to unite them, that the Kannada language has broken up into different dialects, that the old classical literature of the country is lost to its people, and that the Sanskrit scholarship that fed the flame is dying. Though the new English learning and inspiration are moving on the face of the waters and a new spirit is abroad, no life is begotten yet in the hearts of the people, and in their language and literature. In the words of the English poet, Karnāṭaka is

" Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born."

But the new learning, while it killed much, ringing down the curtain on the old age, started a new ferment and made men

wistful, straining after new horizons, bathing in new springs, and harking back with purged eyes to the ancient pride and glory of their forefathers—the wonderful romance of the dear old Kannada Nād and of the mother of them all—Bhārata Mātā, the vestal virgin of the sacred fire.

Nursed by the new, dreaming of the old, the Kannada Movement arose. All over India, the re-birth, the new Renaissance spread, the new springs of patriotism swelled into a religion of Mother India—*Vande mātaram*. Full of dissatisfaction and yet pride in the old, devotion and yet aversion to the new, men's hearts divided and pulled in many directions, all dimly bound on some new quest, making for some unattainable shore—grasping the golden bird and yet losing it—hoping and hopeless—the new India and its provinces toss on a sea of tempest, on a voyage of adventure, greatly daring, conspiring with fate to shatter the old world to bits and remould it nearer to the heart's desire! And the Kannada Movement shares with the sister languages all this fervour, and striving and excitement of the spirit's freedom—freedom to think, and to feel, and to shape—to gather and build, to enrich and fulfil, to bring to the highest and lowest in the lap of the Mother—for there is a little as well as a big Mother—and who can tell if the little one is not the dearer and sweeter—to bring to all a “new heaven and new earth.” The Kannada flag has been unfurled and the cry gone out—“ಸಿರಿಗನ್ನಡಂಗೆಲೈ, ಕನ್ನಡತಾಯಿ ಜಾಳಿ”!

For the last fifty years after the rendition in Mysore, which preserves the throne in the Karnāṭak, the movement has been gaining in momentum and today it has organised itself, fully conscious of its aims, of the difficulties in the way, of its own strength and alas, weaknesses, but determined never to submit or yield, but fight on till the goal is reached. Work is being done on all fronts—it has its cultural and literary side, its social and religious rethinking, its economic and political striving, its revivalistic and revolutionary aspects, its women and depressed class uplift, its literacy and village re-construction campaigns—in brief, the All-India movement is reflected and reproduced in every nook and corner of the land. Young and old are in it—the older, the younger in heart—feeling,

as Wordsworth once felt, the bliss of being young and alive in the dawn of freedom, and called upon to exercise their skill---

Not in Utopia
But in the very world, which is the world
Of all of us—the place where in the end
We find our happiness or not at all¹

Some of the more important aspects of the cultural and literary movement, which is putting heart and vision into the Kannadiga, may be considered. Tribute must be paid, first, to the new journalism. This started very early and though many papers had short lives and fell like leaves in winter, new ones keep coming up and at present at least a dozen veterans stand guard over the land—furnishing latest news, variety of views, and voicing the hopes and fears of the masses and classes—all tending to unity and freedom, fashioning a new, modern language on the anvil of day-to-day needs, and very nearly removing that isolation of dialects which was a barrier to inter-provincial sympathy and communion. Each part of the far-flung but disrupted Karnāṭaka has its leading daily and high-class periodical and the reading-rooms provide for the Kannadiga of every part the contact so necessary to build up the new United Karnāṭaka. The very names of some of these journalistic ventures is significant:—*Viśvakarnāṭaka*, (all Karnāṭaka), *Samyukta Karnāṭaka* (united Karnāṭaka), *Jaya Karnāṭaka* (victorious Karnāṭaka), *Prabuddha Karnāṭaka* (awakened Karnāṭaka), *Taruna Karnāṭaka*, (young Karnāṭaka), *Tāy Nādu* (the mother country), *Kannada Nudi* (the Kannada tongue).

Next, at a higher level come the enormous labour and efforts of scholars to edit and study and assess, the merits and defects of the old classical Literature of Kannada, that harvest of a thousand years, of which mention was made at the beginning of this sketch: the Jaina and the Vira Śaiva and the Brahmana Sāhityas—the “*Triveni-Sangam*” as it has often been picturesquely described. It is almost a rediscovery. For though each sect was no doubt in touch with its leading writers, it is no exaggeration to say that fifty years ago, an educated man in Karnāṭaka hardly knew the names of more than a dozen works and still less did he know what was in

them. Now, thanks to the labours of Kittel, Rice, Narasimhachar, Ramanuja Iyengar, the University of Mysore, the Oriental Library and other scholars and institutions in the South and in the North Karnāṭaka country, the whole field of Kannada Literature and Language lies open to view, its vast extent and variety and perennial and widespread activity, every part contributing, every sect delivering its quota and every village almost having its own little poem, or song or play, or tradition, like its own grove, its own temple, its own lake and its own sky! As we gaze on this garden of our ancestors—what variety, what wealth, what wonder! campu and śatpadi and sāṅgatyā, yakṣagāṇa and ballad; lordly Sanskrit metres, assimilated and tamed to the Kannada tune, the sweeter and defter Kannada tunes themselves, re-organised and carried to the doors of the people, suited to the genius of the language and adaptable to every shift and change in the accent, the *Pūrvada Halagannada*, *Halagannada*, *Nadugannada* and *Hosagannada*; religion, war, love, folk-story: romance, the Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhāgavata, Hariścandra, Kumāra Rāma—all the legendary and historical matter of India and the Karnāṭaka; styles of all grades, simple, natural, artless, homely: rich, ornate, laboured, even tortured, resonant of the best Sanskrit of great and decadent periods, rivalling and beating the guru at his own game; vastuka, bound hand and foot by law, rule, regulation, precept, model, the dead hand of the past; varṇaka, lighter, freer, happier—by a man of the people for the people; philosophy, creed, lives of the saints, of the heroes—of the three main religions represented in the literature; worldly wisdom, satire, humour, sport; technical sciences, arts and crafts; grammar, lexicon, rhetoric, prosody; kings, generals, ministers, court-pandits, inspired charity boys of the country-side, men and women of all sects and creeds;—and to add to these, floating folk-poetry, now being collected in Dharwar and Mysore; inscriptions, thoroughly explored in Mysore and beginnings being made in the British and Nizam Karnāṭakas—hardly less valuable than the literature as literature, in variety, dignity and form in verse and prose, in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Kannada of all stages—giving us for the first time a well-documented history of the Kannada country, its

dynasties, its culture, its customs, its village heroes and mahasatis, and its remarkable toleration for all faiths and schemes of life. All this vast material is being edited, sifted, researched into and thrown as ideas and inspiration into the new life that is surging up. Practically all the great and representative writers are now available in print: about a hundred of them may be studied by any eager student of Kannada Literature: Pampa, Ranna, Nagacandra, Janna, Ratnākara; the great Vacanakāras; Hariśvara, Rāghavāṅka, Cāmarasa, Bhīma, Virūpakṣa, Shadakṣari; Kumāra Vyāsa, Kumāra Vālmiki, Nityatma Suka; Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar, Thirumalārya, Honnamma, Lakṣmīsa; Sarvajña;—all these are being studied in schools and colleges, not in any sectarian spirit, or with any sectarian preference, but as *Kannada*, as the spirit of the great sons and daughters of the Kannada Mother. The best of them are being abridged and made easier for students and readers among the people: lectured upon and analysed: criticised—with one eye on the old standards for which the works were written—and another on present-day tastes and views and needs—the historical and the real estimates mingled in a catholicity of outlook. The pandits are contributing their scholarship of the past and the English-educated are adding their world view-point and progressive move into the future.

That leads us to the next point: the clash between the old and the new. Fanaticism has appeared in both camps, but the genius for toleration and progress that is the special feature of Kannada culture has on the whole reconciled the two strains of thought and the tide has turned in favour of creation and re-creation rather than mere imitation and conservative holding on to the past. A new taste and standard has triumphed under the influence of English and the great creative Sanskrit of the golden ages. The best of Kannada has of course been the predominant partner in this work of assimilation. Things are being re-assessed. Translations from Sanskrit, English, Greek, Mahratti, Bengali, Telugu—from anywhere and everywhere are pouring in. One is reminded of the Englishman's piracy or loot of all *El Dorados* before Spenser and Shakespeare rose on the horizon—"like God's own head". Kannada is expectant, with the thrill of the

world-writer to come. Poetry is mostly Lyrical—as suits a critical, reflective, revolutionary age—but longer flights are already on the wing. Drama—the one empty niche in our literature—one knows not why; Sanskrit had drama: our villageṣ so love their play (ಁಁ)—is now a reproach removed: social and problem plays, historical and tragical plays, pouranic and heroic plays, comedy and farce, one act play—all are in evidence. And translations are heaped up here too: from Shakespeare to Ibsen. The most important change is however in the realm of prose. The old literature looked to poetry for its prizes. Prose was very subordinate—good enough for a commentary, a handbook of summary, an occasional fireworks in campu. The Vacanas, indeed, are a remarkable exception in this as in other matters: clear, terse, going straight to the mark, like an arrow: eloquent, fiery, pathetic, satirical—the outpouring of a sincere heart that was earnest to “save” by communication. But real business-like prose comes from English. And the choice of diction, minting of new words, structure of sentence and paragraph, the graces of style—all these are the work of the “graduate.” And every form of prose is being added in abundance:—Novel, Short-story, Essay, History, Biography, Criticism, Science, Travel, Fun. One of the things the country is all agog about is a common vocabulary of scientific terms for India. Battles are being waged round coining, Sanskrit resources and downright international borrowing.

In the field of pure literature, poetry, drama and prose the vocabulary is fairly well developed and sufficient. But even here, experiments are being carried out in metre, style, form and subject-matter. The spirit and outlook are modern. The old religious note is gone: “religion, not religions” is now the cry, life, not creeds and cobwebs. The natural, the human, the homely, the living romance—are the watchwords. A reading public, democratic and freedom-loving, and with a happy sense of curiosity and accommodation, is growing up and attempts are being made to cater to them by a large number of writers and publishers.

We may next refer to the organisation and conscious direction of the whole ferment into new channels: the academies and associations maintained by Governments and the people, doing propaganda, using

the Movement as a *movement*. A net-work of Kannada sanghas has now sprung up in the leading cities and centres: there may be, on a rough estimate, about 200 to 250 of them: many of them affiliated to the Literary Academy (Parishat) at Bangalore, an all-Karnāṭaka Institution, with a definite constitution and programme, represented by four different regional committees. The Kannada Sahitya Parishat celebrated its Silver Jubilee in June 1940, and the celebrations were inaugurated by the late Mahārāja, His Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur of blessed memory. (It was, alas, his last public appearance.) Another well-known literary institution is the Karnāṭaka Vidya Vardhaka Sangha at Dharwar, which is looking forward to the Festival of its Golden Jubilee shortly. The Mythic Society, Bangalore, has devoted itself to historical and cultural research chiefly bearing on Karnāṭaka antiquities. The Universities of Madras and Bombay (which kept a place for vernacular studies and produced all the earlier scholars of Kannada and inspired them with local patriotism) and more recently the Universities of Mysore and Hyderabad are doing everything possible for study and research in the Kannada field and their contribution to the Kannada movement must always be gratefully acknowledged. The Mysore University in particular has a Kannada Publication Committee, and Extension lectures scheme, and has been publishing Kannada books and booklets and has on hand an English-Kannada Dictionary, a great need of those who think in English. But the duties of the Universities are wider and vaster and they have not been able to concentrate on the culture and language of the people yet. The Chambers of Commerce, the Provincial Congress Committee, and such other bodies help in the development of a common outlook, a common patriotism, in Karnāṭaka and are undoubtedly part and parcel of the Kannada Movement—which visualises not merely the spirit of man but also the daily bread and wealth and power. Indeed the unity of the Karnāṭaka under one administration will solve many scattered problems and knit the threads into one and give a great impetus to the moral and intellectual activities. The spirit makes the body, no doubt, but the body houses the spirit and lends it blood and limbs to work with and live and conquer.

The time seems to be getting ripe for the unification of the Kannada language and culture and the unification of the Kannada country. The literary movement reacts on the political movement and *vice versa*. Memories of over two thousand years of common life and culture, the glories of church and state, the rich legacy of material and spiritual wealth, the blending of many peoples, the needs of the present, the visions of the future combine to inspire the Kannada man to sacrifices for the unity of his part of India, so that with an India organised into about fifteen or twenty well-knit linguistic provinces, the fight for a richer and broader life of freedom for all may go on in all parts, disciplined and drilled into mighty armies, with pride in themselves and pride for all, with devotion as was said above for the big mother as well as the little mother. The Kannada Movement is filtering down and will soon be a mass movement. It is their lives, their needs, their aspirations that are at stake. For them was the movement started, carried on and now speeded up to its culmination. Projects of irrigation come into the movement, the desire for harbours, the pooling of economic resources, all Karnāṭaka enterprises; a common university, common medium of instruction in schools, common text books, a common research; communities now cut into shreds will gather together and become consolidated groups—the Jainas, the Mādhyas, the Virāṣaivas: they will be welded in a common home. The Model State will be re-modelled: Karnāṭaka will no longer be an abode of “slaves” and “double slaves”—it is not that even now, but some feel so acutely—but will be the grand home of a “Crowned Republic”—“a land of Freedom, broadening down from precedent to precedent”—where prince and people can harmonise and socialise each other, with “a rich and saving common-sense,” avoiding “the falsehood of extremes.” As this work proceeds differences will vanish: the dream will yield place to the realisation. A common allegiance now cultural will develop into the political, too; and the ship will have been launched on its new voyage with God at the helm and reconciled Man as the crew.

The old empires broke up: even Vijayanagara broke up. Not without cause. May we learn by the bitter lessons of the past! Never again shall we divide ourselves and let others

rule. Never shall the re-united Karnāṭaka be a house divided against itself—neither the soil nor the children of the soil. As one dreams of this transfiguration to be, one recollects that the mantle of Vijayanagara has fallen on the House of Mysore. One's blood pulses quicker as the gracious image of the Royal Saint—"even in a palace life may be led well," said the Roman Emperor—rises in the mind's eye—the full embodiment of all the piety, and all the learning and all the service to the people, and all the patronage to culture that has been the common characteristic of our long line of kings. "*Nālumadi Krishn*" lived with God and toiled for his people. He led all progressive movements and blessed the Kannada Movement with his last breath. The Young Mahārāja, named of victory of a world-war against evil forces, belongs to a band of pious, learned, progressive patriots, whose motto is "I serve"—"I uphold Truth." He is the hope of a hopeful generation: a people filled with faith in themselves. Two great festivals stand out in the people's imagination, that gathered them together in a common enthusiasm and for a common purpose. One was the celebration at Hampe of 600 years' memorial of Vijayanagara. The other, the Silver Jubilee of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, inaugurated by the late Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar, accompanied by the present Mahārāja, Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Wadiyar, then Adhyakṣa of the Parishat. The whole of Karnāṭaka was represented on both occasions. The future is on the knees of the Gods, no doubt, but man, surely, can lend a helping hand and win.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN MYSORE

BY

B. VENKOBÄ RAO, B.A.

“ MUCH has no doubt been done but much more yet remains to be done ” was the remark made by a distinguished scholar come from Europe when I was discussing with him a few years ago about the achievements of the Department of Archæology in British India. The same remark holds good with equal force about the activities of the Archæological Department in Mysore now.

The Department of Archæology came into existence in the State in March 1888 with Mr. B. L. Rice, who was then Educational Secretary, as its first Director. For several years previously he had been working in this field but with no separate office. Archæological work in the State, however, may be said to have begun so far back as 1865 when Col. Dixon of the Madras Infantry took some photographs of inscriptions for the Mysore Government. These were handed over to Mr. Rice who translated and published them in 1879. From April 1890, Mr. Rice became a full-time officer for archæology and he was also entrusted with the work of compiling the *Mysore Gazetteer*, a monumental work of reference about Mysore. Mr. Rice began his work with unflagging zeal and brought out the *Epigraphia Carnātica* volumes one after another in quick succession. In 1902 he was appointed to revise his *Gazetteer* volumes and bring them up-to date as part of the new scheme of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

In 1899, Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A.—afterwards Prāktana-vimarśavicakṣana, Rao Bahadur, Mahamahopadhyāya,—was appointed as his Assistant and when Mr. Rice retired from service in 1906, Mr. Narasimhachar succeeded him as head of the office. Mr. Rice may be described as the Father of Archæology in Mysore and in reviewing his last report in 1906, the Government paid a very high compliment to Mr. Rice for his work in the State.

Government at this time made drastic retrenchments in the department, lowered the status of the officer making him subordinate to the Inspector-General of Education and called him as "Officer in charge of Archæological Researches." In 1910, Mr. Narasimhachar was placed in independent charge of the department and in 1917, he was raised to the position of a Director with the status of a Deputy Commissioner. In 1914, Government prescribed a programme of work for the department, gave him an Office Assistant and sanctioned some temporary establishment. Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, M.A., Ph.D. entered service as Office Assistant; but he resigned and went away three years later. Government then appointed Messrs. R. Rama Rao, B.A. and B. Venkoba Rao, B.A. as Assistants to the Director, one to help him in epigraphical work and the other in monumental survey and exploration. Mr. Narasimhachar retired in 1922. He was a profound scholar in several languages and he succeeded in bringing a name and a fame to the department. His work was so methodical and so full that one of his European scholar friends, of whom he had many, called him "a syndicate in himself." In appreciation of his work, the Government of India conferred on him the titles of Rao Bahadur and Mahamahopadhyāya and His Highness the Mahārāja bestowed on him the title of "Prāktana-vimarśavicakṣana" in an open Durbar.

On the retirement of Mr. Narasimhachar the department was placed under the administrative control of the University of Mysore. The office was shifted to Mysore—it was in Bangalore hitherto—and Dr. R. Shamasastri,—afterwards Arthaśāstraviśārada and Mahamahopadhyāya,—was appointed as Director in addition to his work as Curator of the Oriental Library. Dr. Shamasastri was Director for about six years and from February 1929, Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore, was placed in charge of the department as part-time Director.

It is now fifty-three years since the department commenced its work and the results of its labours have been remarkable. It has engaged itself in the collection of epigraphical and other records and in the survey of ancient monuments in the State.

It has also done some amount of Numismatic work and carried on Excavations here and there. A very brief summary of its work is given here under different heads.

Epigraphy.

Nearly 12,000 inscriptions have been deciphered, copied and published so far. Most of them have come out in the several bulky volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnāṭica*, published by the department and the rest have been published in the Annual Reports of the department since 1923.

The most important discovery of Mr. Rice has been the Edicts of Aśōka in the Molakālmuru taluk in the year 1892. This proved that the north of Mysore formed part of the Mauryan empire and it also lent support to the traditional account of the migration of the Jains to the south under Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta. The rule of the Āndhras or Śātavāhanas in succession to the Mauryas was established. - So also that of the line of Mahāvaḷi or Bāṇa kings, hitherto unknown, was made clear, together with details of the origin and rise to power of the Kaḍambas. The Gangas, who ruled over Mysore and Coorg for several centuries down to the end of the first millenium of the Christian era but whose very name had been lost in oblivion, were restored to their place in history. The Pallavas, equally unknown before, were found out as a great ruling power in the south. Their domination in Mysore was perpetuated by the Noṇambas or Noḷambas. The influence of the Cāḷukyas, especially the western branch, and the important part played by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were amply elucidated. The first clue to the chronology of the Cōḷas was obtained from Mysore and the range of their conquests here was made manifest. In regard to the indigenous royal dynasty of the Hoysaḷas their place of origin was identified and the building up of their power shown in detail. Lines of small chiefs such as the Santāras, the Cangālvas and the Kongālvas, quite unknown before, were brought to light.

During the time of Mr. Narasimhachar fresh facts with regard to the Kaḍambas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas the Cāḷukyas, the Cōḷas, the Santāras, the Kongālvas, the Cangālvas were collected. Details

of the rulers of the Punnad, Vijayanagara and Mysore were gathered and the history of the chiefs of Āvati, Belur, Hadinādu, Hole-Narasipur, Hulikal, Sugatur, Ummathur and Yelahanka were brought to light. The several Ganga plates gathered and published helped definitely to set at rest all doubts about the genuineness of the Ganga records and made Dr. Fleet change his opinion about them. A manuscript, viz. Lokavibhaga was discovered which furnished a welcome standpoint for Pallava history. Two of Bhāsa's dramas, Svapnavāsavadatta and Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇa, were discovered by the department here before they were published in Travancore. The reports of this period record an immense amount of hard work done in a scholarly fashion and are a veritable mine of valuable information for diligent Research Scholars.

During Dr. Shamasastri's time, some definite subjects were selected and researches conducted by the aid of manuscripts, inscriptions and other records. Some of the interesting facts on which researches were conducted were the following :

- (1) Date of Gommaṭa at Śṛaṇṇbelgoḷa.
 - (2) Initial date of the chronology of the Guptas.
 - (3) The Pragvata dynasty of the fifteenth century.
 - (4) Dates of Tīrujñāna Sambandhar and Sundaranambinayanar.
 - (5) The form of Calendar during the Epic period.
- and (6) The antiquity of Kannada, the age of Bhāmaha and others.

During the last decade much epigraphical material was collected bringing to light many interesting facts, a few of which may be mentioned.

The most important discovery during this period was the Candravalli inscription of Mayuraśarma in the Prākṛit language engraved in Brāhmi characters assigned to 258 A.D. It is of unique interest as it gives the names of eight contemporary kingdoms. A viragal inscription discovered in the Shimoga district mentions the names of Siladitya and Mahendra and is dated the seventh century. These have been identified with Harśavardhana Siladitya and Pallava King Mahendra respectively. If this be correct, it may be assumed that Harśavardhana's rule extended as far as the west of Mysore. A new line of Ganga kings different from the usual

Harivarma series has come to light by the Cukatur plates of Kṛṣṇavarma. The engraver of these plates is the same Apapa of the Penukonda plates. Cākōnahalli plates of the fifteenth century have given us additional facts relating to the Sāḷuva Dynasty. Hebbata grant of the Kaḍamba King Viṣṇuvarma discovered in the year 1925 mentions *Mahiṣa Viṣaya* suggesting thereby that the Mysore kingdom as such must have been in existence as early as fifth century A.D. An inscription at Kannagala in Hassan district mentions Vijayanagara as the capital of Bukka I (1358 A.D) and this disproves the theory that Vijayanagara City as capital came into existence in the reign of Harihara II (1377-1414 A.D). Pandurangapalli plates received by the department from Professor Kundangar of Kolhapur establish for the first time the greatness of the early Rāṣṭrakūtas. A stone inscription at Bastihalli near Halebid, assigned to 1102 A.D. shows that Viṣṇuvardhana was called Viṣṇu even before the traditional date of his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism in 1106 A.D. An inscription discovered at Hālmidi, Hassan district, assigned to 450 A.D. is of special interest as it happens to be the earliest inscription discovered in the Kannada language. A copper plate record discovered in 1938 at Hoskote, Bangalore district, establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava King Simhaviṣṇu and the Ganga King Avinita. The department has taken this opportunity to sift all the available material on the chronology of the Gangas and to suggest that the genealogy given by Dubreuil is the most acceptable one. A stone inscription at a Basti in Tumbadevanahalli, Belur taluk, discovered in 1939 brings to light a new line of the Kaḍamba chiefs who ruled in Bayalnād.

It will thus be seen that the Epigraphical section of the department has done excellent work throughout the period and has made substantial contributions for the growth of our knowledge in the history of South India.

Monumental Survey

Monumental survey as a regular feature of archæological work may be said to have begun from the year 1909. Till then the importance of this kind of work had not been recognized. Mr. Rice, having been saddled with multifarious duties, could not

apparently pay any attention to monuments. It was Mr. Narasimhachar who began to describe the monuments he visited during his search for inscriptions, thus gradually bringing to the notice of scholars the existence in Mysore of the vast number of beautiful monuments studded all over the country. During his period nearly nine hundred monuments were noticed.

Dr. Shamasastri continued the same method of work but with less vigour and enthusiasm than his predecessor, he being mostly concerned with research on select subjects. A few new monuments were, however, discovered by the department during his period.

Dr. Krishna's work bears mostly the character of a resurvey and detailed study of the monuments noticed by the previous Directors, though a few new ones were also discovered. Of the latter, the most noteworthy is the temple at Narasamangala, Chamarajanagar taluk, belonging perhaps to the seventh century A.D.

Excavation

In 1907, Professor MacDonell, and Mr. Rea, Superintendent of Archæology, Madras Circle, visited Halebid and recommended that the old capital city may be taken up for excavation.

In the same year, on the recommendation of the Director-General of Archæology, some preliminary operations were carried out for about eight days on the Candravalli site near Citaldrug and a few pieces of pottery unearthed were forwarded to him. Dr. Marshall was of opinion that the relics showed that the site must be a very ancient one fit for excavation.

In 1911 work was carried on for fourteen days at Talkad in removing the sand round the Kīrti Narāyaṇa Temple for purposes of reading some inscriptions. In 1916, a few cromlechs in the Devanhalli taluk were opened. In 1922 some excavations on a small scale were conducted at Citaldrug, Talkad and Halebid. In 1924, some excavation was made in the compound of Parsvanātha Basti at Halebid.

All these cannot be called "Excavations" in the strict sense of the word as they were not conducted in a scientific manner as all archæological excavations should be done.

It was only in 1928, that excavation work on a scientific basis was undertaken with a grant of Rs. 1,000 sanctioned by the Government for the purpose. Candravalli, near Citaldrug was first chosen where operations were conducted for nearly one month and some interesting finds said to belong to the Śātavāhana period were unearthed. As the results of these preliminary operations were encouraging, work was continued on in two subsequent seasons also. A large number of small objects of considerable variety were collected. Preliminary notes on trial excavations were published by the department in the year 1929 and a part of the detail Report was issued in 1931. The remaining portion with fuller details of finds has been promised.

In the year 1930 trial excavations were conducted at a place called Kittur, Heggadadevankote taluk, which is considered to be the ancient Kīrtipurā, capital of Punnad; and also at the site of the Aśōkan inscriptions in the Molakālmuru taluk.

In several other ancient sites since noticed no action has yet been taken to excavate any of them, perhaps due to paucity of funds.

It may be remarked in this connection that excavations conducted intermittantly are not fruitful of the best results and that operations once begun should be continued without a break until all that could be expected of them has been collected. Otherwise the layers once exposed are likely to get disturbed either by the force of nature such as storm and rain or by the vandalistic acts of mischievous people. It is also very desirable from all points of view that the results of such excavations should be published without delay and placed before the scholars at large.

Enough attention has not yet been paid by the department to this field of activity and no substantial work has so far been carried out. Ever since the department commenced working it has tapped all possible sources of information on the surface of the earth and hereafter it is only by probing underneath the surface that we can expect, if at all, any additional information which may be of value to the historian.

Mysore is studded all over with ancient sites of varying degrees of antiquity like most of the older parts of India. The department

will do well first to prepare and publish a complete list of all such sites likely to yield valuable results, acquire and "protect" them by means of legislation and examine them one by one in a certain order of preference. The site at Candravalli has already yielded very interesting finds and deserves to be further tackled. Siddapur in the Molakālmuru taluk and Narasamangala in the Chamarājanagar taluk are a few others which promise to offer the digger very favourable results, not to speak of several other likelier sites all of which the department might take up one by one as funds permit. It is, of course, very difficult to expect liberal allotments from Government for such works which are in their eyes "unproductive" in the sense that they will not bring any money into the coffers of the State. But, if operations are conducted with funds, however meagre in the beginning, from season to season continuously and win the appreciation of scholars from all parts of the world by publishing the results achieved immediately, the Government will be certain to be convinced of the utility of such work and to allow the department to carry on. It is from this point of view that any delay in publishing results of excavation is harmful to the interests of the department.

Conservation

The principal functions of the department are in the main two—investigation and conservation. Investigation is, of course, going on from the beginning and sufficient attention has been paid to exploration. But that conservation of monuments is equally important as investigation has not been fully recognized. Appreciable work having been done so far in other branches of activities and owing to its persistent neglect in years gone by, conservation should at least hereafter be the paramount duty of the department. Except in the case of one or two monuments, work carried out in this line has not been done in a properly organized scientific manner. The first essential step towards this end is the listing of all monuments, and their classification in the order of importance.

History tells us that Chikka Devarāja Wadiyar (1672-1704) had lists of copies made of inscriptions throughout the country and that this register was one of those in the Royal Library which

was ordered to be burnt by Tippu Sultān. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Colonel Colin Mackenzie made copies of several thousands of inscriptions. Major Dixon, then Colonel of the Madras Infantry, took photographs in 1865 of about 150 inscriptions. It was Mr. Rice, who, for the first time, prepared a list of ancient monuments in the State in the year 1884. But no further notice of it was taken nor was any independent work done in this direction. However, as a result of the persistent pressure of Mr. Narasimhachar, Government laid down a policy in September 1920, for the preservation of ancient monuments in the State and an exhaustive list of monuments deserving of attention was prepared by him and submitted to Government. Government ordered that these should be periodically inspected by the officers of the department and proper steps should be taken for their preservation. Government also passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1925, fixed the responsibilities of the officers concerned and prescribed the procedure to be adopted in regard to the treatment of monuments. Government stipulated that the Revenue Officers in charge of Sub-Divisions should inspect these monuments during their tours and send their inspection reports to the Director of Archæology. They also ordered that a paragraph should be added in their Annual Administration Reports by Deputy Commissioners about the action taken in the districts towards the preservation of monuments. But for various reasons over which the department had no control no efforts worth mentioning could be made in this direction. A few individual monuments, however, such as temples at Belur, Halebid and Somanathpur, received special attention and definite action was taken to prevent them from further decay.

In 1901, Mr. Rice reported on the necessity of repairing the Kedareśvara Temple at Halebid which was crumbling down. Plans were prepared in 1902 and work begun in 1904. But this work had to be stopped as all skilled workmen were required for the construction of the New Palace at Mysore. Work was resumed in 1906 and completed in 1909. But the method adopted in its restoration made the temple after completion look quite a different one from the original structure.

Drawings prepared in the early eighties showed that the temple was then in tact. A photograph taken fifty years after revealed a banyan tree rooted and growing out of the vimāna. The tree was removed in 1886. Detail drawings of what was left were prepared and the whole structure dismantled with some intention of erecting the building elsewhere which was never fulfilled. It was at this time that Mr. Rice took up the question of its reconstruction on the original spot itself. But within the time that elapsed between the preparation of the estimate and the commencement of the construction much havoc had been played. Many beautiful images had been sent to Bangalore, Mysore and other places, and a number of the best images had been carried away by foreigners. Consequently when the reconstruction work was actually commenced several gaps were noticed and many stones from the ruined temples round about the place had to be brought in and the building completed somehow with the horrible result already reported. The main aim of conservation is preservation and towards this end *prevention* from further decay must be its first concern. If repairs to or a restoration of any monument is considered necessary it should be undertaken in such a manner as not to disturb any part of its structure nor to lessen its original beauty. Judged from this principle, the money spent on this monument is open to question.

Restoration of the Tippu's Palace at Bangalore was attempted in 1904, but given up. In 1910, the Director-General of Archæology wanted a note on the conservation work in Mysore. Mr. Narasimhachar and the Executive Engineer, Hassan Division, made a joint-inspection of the temple at Belur in February 1911, and sent up proposals for reconstructing the fallen tower, for removing the ugly accretions on the outer walls and for dismantling the mantapa in front. In 1921, a scheme for the restoration of the Belur Temple at a cost of Rs. 23,000 was prepared by the Architectural Assistant and submitted to Government. In 1924, Government appointed a committee consisting of the Muzrai Commissioner, Chief Engineer, Director of Archæology and Deputy Commissioners of Hassan and Mysore to go into the question of renovating the monuments at

Belur, Halebid and Somanathpur. The committee examined these monuments and submitted a report on the strength of which Government sanctioned certain works and appointed watchmen to look after these monuments. In 1927, a sum of Rs. 16,000 was spent in repairing the temple at Somanathpur. In 1928, another committee was formed by the Government, a comprehensive scheme for the restoration of the temples at Belur and Halebid was sanctioned and a programme of works drawn up in the order of urgency. Work was carried on at Belur year after year to the tune of Rs. 50,000. The monument now presents a beautiful appearance and is capable of standing for several centuries more. A similar programme of work has been drawn up in the case of the temples at Halebid and the work is progressing.

Ancient monuments will have withstood the rigours of the weather for several centuries and when once disintegration sets in it spreads rapidly. Constant vigilance is therefore necessary to watch these monuments and as soon as such cases are detected they should be dealt with promptly. Otherwise there will be a danger of losing the monument itself. This essential principle was not understood in earlier days as can be seen from the following. At a place called Phalguni in the heart of the malnad was a temple dedicated to the God, Kalanathesvara. Rich in carving, it was one of the few beautiful temples that were in those parts and had formed a place in the first list of artistic monuments prepared by Mr. Rice in 1884. In 1905 the building was found leaking badly. The P. W. D. was requested to examine the structure and send up proposals for repairing it. An estimate for resetting some of the stones which had gone loose and for renewing the concrete on the roof was prepared in 1906 and sent to the Revenue Department. After much correspondence on trivial points and the estimate having been tossed from office to office was returned to P. W. D. in 1911. Another estimate was prepared for Rs. 840 and sent to the Deputy Commissioner in 1914. This again underwent a revision before it obtained the sanction of Government in 1915. The work having been referred to the P. W. D. for execution it was found that the sanctioned amount, *viz.* Rs. 911 was quite insufficient to set the building in order. A fresh estimate was thereupon

prepared for Rs. 2,624 and sent to the Deputy Commissioner in July 1918. After much unnecessary correspondence it at last reached the Government in March 1920. The amount of the present estimate having swollen to more than twice the original sanctioned estimate, Government referred it back to the Deputy Commissioner for ascertaining if any local contribution could be expected towards the repair of the monument. The Deputy Commissioner visited the place in July 1920, held an enquiry and reported to Government that the local people being poor, were not in a position to pay anything and he also added that the temple having since deteriorated considerably stood in need of more extensive repairs than what was contemplated in the estimate. The Executive Engineer was thereupon asked to inspect it once again and submit a report. He visited the place in January 1921 and found that it required not less than Rs. 10,000 to put the temple back in its original condition. The idea of restoring the structure was thereupon abandoned. A beautiful specimen of architecture was thus allowed to go into ruins while the several departments went on corresponding for more than fourteen years. If timely action had been taken and if repairs according to the first estimate amounting to only a few hundreds of rupees had been carried out, the monument would have been saved and it would have stood for several years more. No better illustration can be cited to prove the old adage "A stitch in time saves nine".

Numismatics

Next to Epigraphy and historical records coins form an important source of information for archæologists. By the study of coins it has been possible to reconstruct portions of history and solve several knotty problems relating thereto. Some attention to this branch of science has been paid by the department and a description of coins found within the State has been a regular feature in the Annual Reports published. The coins collected include *puranas*, or punch-marked ones, perhaps the oldest of the coins in India and also the lead coins of the Śatavahana period unearthed at Candravalli. Coins of most of the ruling dynasties of South India, Roman and Chinese coins are also among the

objects collected. More than 4,000 coins have been dealt with by the department so far.

Publications

The photographs prepared by Major Dixon in 1865 were first published with additions in 1879 under the name "Mysore Inscriptions." The first edition of *Mysore Gazetteer* was published in 1877, and a revised edition came out twenty years later. *Epigraphia Carnāṭica* volumes appeared one after another and by the year 1906 all the twelve volumes had been published. Mr. Rice wrote his book "*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*" in 1909. Since 1907, from the time of Mr. Narasimbachar, the report, instead of being merely a record of events of the year for the information of Government, became a valuable publication in itself. In addition to the annual reports the following publications were brought out by the department :

In 1916: Monograph on the Kesava Temple at Somanathpur.

In 1920: Monographs on the temples at Belur and Doddavalli.

In 1923: Revised edition of Jain inscriptions at Śṛavāṇ-beḷgoḷa.

In 1929: Index to Annual Reports.

In 1938: Guide books for travellers on Nandi, Belur and Talkad.

A General Index and Supplements to *Epigraphia Carnāṭica* volumes have been in preparation for several years past and are being published in parts.

The rich carvings of the Temples at Belur, Halebid, Somanathpur and other places elicited the admiration of one and all who visited Mysore and in 1900 alone Mr. Rice wrote to Government that he was contemplating to issue a volume containing illustrations of architecture and sculpture in Mysore. In 1905, two European travellers Mr. and Mrs. Workman who visited this country published a few photographs of the temples in their *Book of Travels* which evoked the interest of lovers of Art all over the world and there was a general clamour for such illustrations.

Dr. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology, visited Mysore in 1910 and he expressed that "Cālukyan buildings are the most magnificent of their kind existing and yet they have never been depicted in a form in which the world at large can appreciate them" and he strongly recommended that the department might publish a monograph on this style of architecture. As a result of Dr. Marshall's note the idea of publishing a monograph was seriously considered by the Government and in the year 1914, Mr. Rea, Superintendent of Archæology, Madras Circle, who had just then retired from service was appointed as special officer to tour in the State, visit the monuments and submit a scheme. Mr. Rea submitted his report on the 14th of May 1914. He visited sixty temples in all, and he said that it would take four years to complete the survey and six to twelve months to publish the monograph. The approximate cost of his scheme was over a lakh of rupees. Government thought it too costly and ordered that it might lie over for the time being. In 1920, Mr. Narasimhachar submitted a revised scheme for the work for half the original estimate and solicited sanction of Government to undertake the work with the assistance of the Architectural Assistant who had just then entered the department after a special training in this work for four years in Bombay. Government considered even that a costly scheme. In 1927, the question was again urged for the attention of Government and a scheme costing Rs. 12,000 was submitted for their consideration. Government approved of this scheme as submitted, ordered that the monograph should consist of two sections of which the historical portion should be written up by Dr. Krishna who was then only Professor of History and the architectural portion and illustrations should be drawn up by Architectural Assistant and that the work should be completed within four years. Work was commenced in 1929 and satisfactory progress in the preparation of illustrations and the collection of materials for the letter-press was achieved within the stipulated period. But the work was discontinued and the monograph has not yet been published by the department even though it is more than ten years since the scheme was sanctioned. The public have been eagerly expecting it for nearly half a century.

Manuscripts

Though not within the strict purview of their duties, Directors have, in their itineration, undertaken to collect manuscripts and several hundreds of them were thus added to the Oriental Library either by acquiring them from the owners or by obtaining copies of the originals.

Mr. Rice prepared a provisional chronological table of authors and his theories were published in his *Introduction to Karnāṭaka Sabdanūṣāna*, published by him in 1897. These researches were followed up by Mr. Narasimhachar in his learned reports and also in other works published by him.

Some of the notable manuscripts collected are: Lokavibhaga, a Jain work of the fifth century A.D; Kalyanakarika, a Sanskrit work of the ninth century on medicine; Sūktisudhārnava, a Kannada anthology of the thirteenth century and a treatise on veterinary science called Aśva Vaidya belonging to the fourteenth century.

In all more than 3,000 manuscripts were examined by the department.

Museum

The intention of the Government in transferring the department to Mysore and bringing it under the control of the University was obviously to co-ordinate the work of the department with the department of History in the college. With a view to give effect to this and to afford facilities to the students of ancient history and research scholars in their study, a museum was opened in the year 1924 as an adjunct of the department. But unfortunately it has not been able to maintain this institution, in the way that is helpful to the candidates. The department has gathered thousands of valuable inscriptions, scores of copper plates, more than a thousand fine photographs of architectural and sculptural monuments and a representative collection of coins, all of which are now huddled up in utter disorder in a corner of the building apparently for want of sufficient space to display them properly. The Central Hall of the Jubilee building in which several representative lithic records are already imbedded in the wall and is spacious enough for a display of antiquities, is best

suited for housing the museum. Heavy cases of manuscripts now kept there have rendered the place too crowded and ugly. A separate suitable place for these should be found and the museum transferred to the Hall. It is an accepted principle in British India that museums "should co-operate with the universities, colleges and schools in the dissemination of knowledge and they should develop into potent agencies for the advancement of science and the enlightenment of the people." From this point of view the suggestion made above deserves the serious consideration of the University authorities as early as possible.

The foregoing brief history of the department amply justifies the encomiums it has been receiving from scholars abroad on the splendid work it has been doing all these years especially in the branch of Epigraphy and for the valuable contributions it has made for the reconstruction of the history of South India. Good work has been done in other branches of activity also though one is apt to feel that the department could have given out, if it had willed, much more valuable material for the edification of scholars than it has done so far.

BUDDHISM AND MYSORE

BY P. S. LAKSHMINARASU, B.A., B.L.

THE volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnāṭica*, *Indian Antiquary*, *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Mysore Archæological Reports*, among others, throw a flood of light on the course of Buddhism in the Mysore country where for some eighteen centuries from at least 252 B.C. the word of the Buddha was known: the *Hinayāna* in the first six centuries, the *Mahāyāna* during the next four and the Tantric phase of Buddhism later on being common. Between 1151 A.D. and 1410 A.D. Jainism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism absorbed gradually the governing principles and rules of conduct in Buddhism so that by the sixteenth century the followers of the Buddha had come to be regarded as those of Hinduism itself. Little was thereafter left of Buddhism.

According to *Bṛhatkathāsāra*, a work of the ninth century, by Harisena, a Buddhist sangha appears to have gone to Punnāḍ, in south Mysore, in the third century B.C. known to early geographers as Puṇāta and referred to in the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. The great Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahavamsa* mentions the despatch by Aśōka of the Buddhist missionaries, Mahādeva Tera to Mysore and Rakkita Tera to Vanavāsi, the famous Vijayanti or Banavāsi of the Kaḍambas who in the time of Mayuraśarman, their founder, conquered Puṇāta. Supplementing his oral teaching, Aśōka, whose deep concern and solicitude for the welfare of all living beings was well-known, set up edicts throughout his vast empire to enable all to read and benefit from the Buddha Dharma engraved on them. Of these, three minor rock edicts are found in the northern outskirts of the present State of Mysore, belonging to the year 252 B.C. introducing us to primitive Buddhism and they are so far as is known the oldest lithic records in the State¹. They are engraved in Brāhmi

1. E. C. XI. Mk. 14, 21 and 34 of 252 B.C.

characters on rocks lying within easy reach of one another within the radius of about a mile and a half near Siddapura in the Molakālmuru Taluk of the Chitaldrug District, overlooking the arid and bleak, yet in a way attractive scenery of the Brahmagiri and Jāṭinga-Ramesa Hills in the extreme north of the State.

Of these, the Brahmagiri edict is the least damaged and abundant measures for the preservation of these records have been taken. This edict² contains the Emperor's words, giving the gist as it were, of what the Buddha had taught Sigāla in *Sigālovāda Sutta*: "Obedience should be rendered to parents. Regard for living creatures should be enforced. Truth should be spoken. The teacher should be honoured by the pupil and towards the relations due respect indeed should be shown. This is the ancient standard of piety conducing to long life. This should be done." In the middle portion of it, Aśōka refers to himself thus: "During the six years since I entered the *Saṅgha* I have strenuously exerted myself. This indeed is the fruit of exertion. The men together with the gods, learned men, who were regarded as true in Jambudvīpa have been shown to be false. The *Vyūta* exhorted 256 years ago that not the great only but even the lowly can by exertion gain much heavenly bliss. So let the small and great exert themselves to this end." After he became a Buddhist monk, he realised that people did not live up to their professions, that bliss was no man's monopoly and that it could be gained by all if they exerted themselves to that end. By royal command of Aśōka, the *Āyaputra* (Viceroy) and *Malāmāṭās* (Muzrai officers) at Suvarnagiri proclaimed this democratic message and in Iśila, a town or province where the Mysore edicts are found.

Trial excavations in the neighbourhood have disclosed the existence of four inhabited cities in olden days of which Iśila is said to be the second³. As Dr. M. H. Krishna also says that a cave near Hire Jāṭinga-Ramesa Hill, converted into a shrine in the Vijayanagara period may yet yield another Buddhistic, *i.e.* Aśōkan inscription⁴. I may add that Ēkanātheśvari, the patron-goddess

2. E. C. XI. Mk 34. of 252 B.C.

3. M. A. R. 1930, p. 26.

4. M. A. R. 1930, p. 28.

of the Chitaldrug Hills, is a Buddhist deity, an emanation from Ādi Buddha or Ēkanātha whence Buddhism is called Ēkānta in contrast with Jainism which is Anekānta or Syadvāda⁵. In later times, Buddhist structures apparently were turned into Brahmin shrines like, perhaps, the pit now associated with the name of Jatāyu, who according to local tradition fell here in an encounter with the dānava king, Rāvaṇa. And similarly what was originally the tooth relic of the Buddha or some Buddhist saint may have begun to be exhibited as Hidimba's tooth in the fortress of Chitaldrug.

The Shikarpur inscriptions in the Shimoga District refer to a Buddha Vihara and a deer-park in Belgāvi, evidently a Buddhist town and a part of the kingdom of Iśila at one time, to judge from the existence of a Buddha temple now in ruins there⁶. Likewise, the advaita centre of Śringeri and its neighbourhood must also have been originally Buddhist.

Passing on from these famous edicts, we meet with, several centuries later, the lithic records of the period 150 to 250 A.D.—at Malavalli in the Shikarpur Taluk itself, in cave characters and in the Prakrit language, indicating the appearance in the Shimoga District of the *Siddhi* cult⁷, a form of Buddhism to which the Brahmins took kindly, believing that it would help spreading Brahmanism. That, however, was a failure in Mysore, even though sponsored by royalty.

The earlier inscription records an original grant of the village of Sahalavati by Śātakarni, King of Vaijayanti and the second speaks of its restoration by Śivaskandavarman, also King of Vaijayanti, as the ownership of that village had been abandoned in that long interval. Both these grants were made to the Blessed One, '*Jayanti bhagavan mattapatti devo*' i.e. Victorious is the Blessed One, God of Mattapatti. *Bhagavatosu* or to please the Blessed One in the first and *devo bhogam mahasaranna* or the enjoyment of the deva, the great refuge are significant and

5. E. C. II. SB. 258 of 1432 A.D; ibid 63 note 1. at p. 15; I. A. XIV. 21 note 14.

6. E. C. VIII, Part 1. Introduction, p. 20.

7. E. C. VIII, Part 1. Sk. 263 of 150 A.D; Sk. 264 of 250 A.D.

Mattapatti deva must be the Buddha, the Lord of *Matta* or *Sangha*. *Haritiputto* or sons of *Hariti* is also found here. The first grant was addressed to the *Mahavallabham rajjukum* who are under Śātakarni the *mahūmaṭas* of the Aśōkan edict with perhaps revenue duties added on for spreading the gospel of *Mattapatti*, the Buddha. What is observable, however, is that both the original and the restored grants were intended for a Brahman endowment. *Nandanthu gobbhammana*, i.e. may cows and Brahmans be happy, occurs in the second grant in which is also found *Jayanti lokanatho*, Avalokiteśvara or Dhyani Bodhisattva of the present world. A Śaiva copper-plate of Mudiyanur dated 338 A.D. contains the following :

*Srimad Bāna - vamsa - Kamalūkara - nalina - karasya sūnōs
tribhuvana - madhya varttinām praṇinam parama ka-
runya-Kathaya - bōdhi - satvōpāmānasya.*

i.e. 'There was, in like manner, . . . a sun in awakening, the lotus lake of the Bāna Vamsa . . . his son, who in compassion for all living things in the three worlds was like Bodhisattva'. Mahāyāna Buddhism was apparently prevalent, being slowly dislodged by the rising tide of Brahmanism, the *Arhat* ideal of the individual seeking his own salvation had given way to that of the Bodhisattva, engaging himself in the altruistic and more difficult task of saving all human beings without exception. He is on the road to Buddhahood. He practises self-sacrifice and social service: and he develops compassion without measure. At this time, as we find in a Kolar record, the vanities of kings were tickled when likened to a Bodhisattva. There is evidence to show that a large number of villages was named after the Buddha⁹.

The composition and metre of a Kaṇḍamba inscription resembling in parts a Buddhist work of 400--450 A.D. may be noticed. Mayuraśarman who went to Kañci to study *pravacana*, presumably *Siddhi* cult or Buddha dharma, eventually adopted a Kṣatriya mode of life, though himself a Brahman¹⁰. Yuan Chuang, the Chinese

8. E. C. X. Mb. 157 of 338 A.D.

9. E. C. X. Mb. 3 of 1521, A.D. refers to Tatagatha village.

10. E. C. VII. Part 1. Sk. 176 of 450 A.D. and Intro. p. 7 and footnotes.

pilgrim, who visited Kañci in 640 A.D. mentions 10,000 Buddhists, 100 monasteries and 80 *deva* (Brahman) temples, including Jaina ones¹¹. Tamil saints were protesting against idolatry and pleading for one caste and one god as we may see in the appeal to Kapilar :

" When shall our race be one great brotherhood,
Unbroken by the tyranny of caste ? " ¹²

The visit of a Karnāṭaka King to Nepal in the ninth century was apparently influenced by Buddhistic teaching and the appearance of great Sanskrit works on Buddhistic logic and cosmogony gave an impetus to people. From their association with yoga, the Buddhists became known as *yogacāras* and from the Buddhist conception of *Īśvara* which was developed in Nepal and Kaśmir was derived the Buddhist Trinity : 1. The Buddha, Ādi Buddha, Śūnya or Svayambhu, regarded as the first cause of all existence ; 2. His spiritual offspring Buddha, Maheśvara or Dharma, the creator of the world ; and 3. His child, *Īśvara* or Gautama as its guardian and deliverer. According to the Nepalese tradition, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī had alone the privilege of seeing at once *Īśvara*, the creator of the valley of Nepal. Bāna popularises the Bodhisattva ideal throughout his drama, the *Harśa-carita*, where the king and his sister take the vow to become the Buddha for the good of the world. King Harśa himself visits a Buddhist monk, Divākaramitra, the supreme Buddhist Avalokiteśvara.

According to the Vokkaleri plates¹³, kings ought to reflect on the transient nature of life, riches, etc. after the Buddhist fashion. The Caḷukyas are described, as the sons of Hariti, a Buddhist deity. The Svayambhu temples at Balligāme and Kuppatur and in Śrī Vidyanagara in Śringeri belonging to this period are other indications of the prevalence of Buddhism at the time. The dynasty of the Karnāṭaka Kings of Nepal must have also influenced the migration of the Kālāmukhas into Mysore. These Brahman Śaivite devotees during the several centuries of their influence had the educational system of the country in their hands and popularised

11. Carpenter ; Theism in Mediæval India, p. 352.

12. Siddhantadipikā. XI. No. 10, p. 157.

13. E. C. X. Kl. 63 of 757 A.D.

*advaita tattva*¹⁴. As they gained in influence, the Buddhists began to lose ground and were called Brahmarākṣasas, out to destroy and kill Brahman sacrifices. Buddhism was, however, active in Mysore in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The deer plain of Balligāme, habitation for the munigaṇa, (Buddha Sangha), temples of Jina, Rudra and *Buddha* and Hari in Banavāsi, a gift in the presence of the whole city including Nagiyakka (a Buddhist nun), the Savāsi of the Bauddha temple, Viṣṇuvardhana being like Siddharasa to the millions of the followers of the Buddha, Jains coming under the influence of the yoga cult and yogic practice till then associated with Buddhism, Bauddhāgama being one of the four Samayas¹⁵, Vidybharana (of Kōdiyamatta) being a thunderbolt in splitting the great boulders, the Bauddhas, and a sun to clusters of water lilies, the Syadvāda and appointment of Gautamanuni or Gautamacārya, his own world-renowned senior disciple for its management, the temple of the Bauddha at Balligāme being one of the five arrows or mutts in the city, setting up the god Kusuveśvara (the yellow robed god) and its being presented to Gautamadeva¹⁶, Jainas being regarded as submarine fires in drying up the ocean of Buddhist doctrines¹⁷, Buddhists being likened to elephants whose skulls were split by Jains¹⁸—all show the existence of Buddhism during this period. The cult of force even for self-defence was unthinkable in the Buddha Dharma and Jainism became more and more aggressive and militant and menacing in its attitude to Buddhism¹⁹. The pacifist Buddhists tabooed politics and the wars of the kings and concentrated their mind and energy on the democratic Sangha which gave refuge to all and reformed those who came under it. The Sangha was once again regarded as a source of danger to the

14. QJMS. VII. pp. 176-192.

15. E. C. VII, Part 1. Sk. 120 of 1048 A.D. Sk. 136 of 1068 A.D. Sk. 169 of 1067 A.D. Sk. 170 of 1065 A.D. Sk. 106 of 1098 A.D. E. C. XII Ck. 21 of 1160 A.D. *ibid.* Tm. 9 1151 A.D.

16. E. C. VII, Part 1. Sk. 100 of 1129 A.D.

17. E. C. VIII, 2. Nr. 39 and 40 of 1077 A.D.

18. E. C. XI. Dg. 90 of 1128 A.D.; E. C. II. SB. 64 of 1163 A.D. and 118 of 1120 A.D.

19. E. C. II, 118 of 1120 A.D.

State, as had been previously experienced at the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, several centuries ago. Prabhacandra Siddharta Deva was a sun to the darkness of the Bauddhas and as one of his disciples Maghanandi was a Buddha in greatness of enlightenment, a recognition of Buddha being known as the *samma sambuddha*, the perfectly enlightened one²⁰. The Jaina goddess, Padmavati, became in tune a rival of the Buddhist Tāra.

It is difficult to say whether the sage who inspired the eponymous Saḷa to found the Hoysaḷa dynasty, was a real being and whether the tiger and Saḷa were real or figurative representations²¹. We, however, find that about 1123 A.D. both the Brahmans and the Jainas were proclaiming that the Buddha had incarnated to lead heretics unto destruction by teaching them a false doctrine²². Naturally enough, things savouring of Buddhism like Saḷa, Ilayagriva, a protector of Buddha Dharma, dressed in tiger skin or riding on a tiger as in Tibet, were looked upon as objects to be shunned²³. We do not know whether Saḷa meant the name of the tree at the foot of which Śakyamuni died, an enclosure, *caitya* or a Buddhist *rākṣasa*. It may possibly be that the founder of the Hoysaḷa dynasty struck a Buddhist object and not a mystic tiger and their crest was thus derived. Śaśakapura itself was perhaps a Buddhist town. By 1128 A.D. there was a clear drive launched against Buddhists of those days. Gradually Buddhism became identified as a false religion and curiously enough Maheśvara, a Jaina scholar, is regarded as being worshipped even by the Brahmarākṣasas, meaning thereby the Buddhists and suggesting that the Jaina sage was superior both to Śiva and to Avalokiteśvara²⁴. A Kolar inscription contains an appeal couched in an elegant Sanskrit verse, where statesmen made capital use of Buddhist doctrines like that of impermanency²⁵.

20. E. C. VII, Part I, Sh. 4 of 1122 A.D.

21. E. C. II, SB, 132 of 1123 A.D.

22. Gopinatha Rao : Hindu Iconography. Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 216-219.

23. N. K. Bhattasali : Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum. pp. 22, 63-67.

24. E. C. II, SB, 67 of 1129 A.D.

25. E. C. X, Kl, 63 of 757 A.D.

Śaivas joined the Jains and while both opposed Buddhism, they also had their own differences and bitterness against the Jains. Buddhism and Jainism are again attacked in a number of inscriptions where pre-eminence is given to Śaivism and in later times to Vaiṣṇavism for we find Bhuvanaikamalla Deva withdrawing all Brahmans from the Jaina and Buddhist colleges leaving to them in all probability a great number of the total Śūdra student population of Belgāme²⁶. A number of inscriptions lay marked emphasis on yogic culture and on the ideal yogihood²⁷ and I believe that Gautama and Gautamacārya mentioned in a number of inscriptions refers to the Blessed One or had him for their model. Tossed up by the Śaivites and deprived of power by the Vaiṣṇavas the Jains sobered down but only after Buddhism itself left the country. Sugata is referred to in a number of inscriptions and works and the universal spirit is referable to him.

About the middle of the twelfth century Buddhism was regarded as a fierce sun in dispelling the mass of darkness, the heretical doctrines. Devakūṭi is praised as the destroyer of the rutting elephants, the indomitable Buddha and the staunch maintainers of the Buddha faith by his unrestrained voice, the deep and terrific roar of the lion²⁸; Udayacandra Pandita as a wild fire to the forests of the Bauddhas²⁹, and Kakananda Yogisvara as a dreadful thunderbolt to the mountains of the Bauddhas³⁰, while Dhammanandi as an Agastya to the ocean of the Bauddhas³¹.

While Buddhist maritime expeditions in the far east in the sixth and seventh centuries made Tāra popular with the Hindus as well, tantric form of Buddhism in which the worship of Tāra, Tāra Bhagavati, or simply Bhagavati meaning the Blessed Lady, was also known in Mysore. Nepal again introduced her worship

26. QJMS. VII. pp.

27. E. C. VII C1 72 of 1220.

28. E. C. II. SB. 64 of 1163 A.D.

29. E. C. II. SB. 66 of 1176 A.D.

30. E. C. II SB. 64 of 1163 A.D.

31. E. C. II SB. 66 of 1176 A.D.

into Southern India from Tibet. A mass of *Prajñāpāramita* literature also grew round her. The Buddhist works themselves refer to her as Sarasvati and the worship of Tāra or Bhagavati is said to have been revived by Nagājuna, the famous Mahāyānist of South India. It would be interesting to note that *kakti* is associated in every one of the mutts founded by Śaṅkara in the eighth century from the Himalayas to the Cape³². A Kolar grant refers to the menace of cow-lifting warded off by the bravery of the kings' servants³³ in which connection Tāra, the giver of boons, is propitiated. In another Kolar grant Bhagavati is linked up with Nandi³⁴. It is possible that Nandi itself might have been a kind of image to be set up by the cattle lifters who carried off bulls from the frontier tribes. The bull symbolises the birth of the Buddha in the Buddhist cosmogony and is by no means a misfit for alliance with Tāra. It may be the bull itself is begging Tāra to get back the company of the cows³⁵. It is further curious to observe that Tāra or Bhagavati does not occur as another name for Umā or Pārvati in Amarasiṃha's *Nāmalingānuśāsana* which is commented on by the Buddhist commentator, Sarvananda, in the ninth century. Two inscriptions of Āhavamalla refer to Buddhist viharas in Balligāve made by one of his chiefs and endowed lands for worship of Tāra Bhagavati, Keśava, Lokeśvara, Buddha and others³⁶.

Nagiyakka, wife of Sahavasi Hampa Chetti already referred to petitioned to the emperor who personally made a gift washing the feet of Prabha Bauddha Bhaḷlāra³⁷. Sahavasi is the name of a caste comprising of persons from the union of a Brahman apostate apparently a Buddhist with a woman of an inferior caste and perhaps Hampa Chetti is a casteless refugee, who had come from the east for succour into Mysore. This popularity of Tāra evoked the jealousy of the Śaivas and the Jainas and in course of time we

32. M. A. R. 1916. p. 10, para 16.

33. E. C. X. Kl. 232 of 750 A.D.

34. E. C. VI. Cm. 133 of 893 A.D.

35. E. C. X. Mb. 230 of 750 A.D. & Mb. 244 of 890 A.D.

36. E. C. VIII. Part. 1. Sk. 170 of 1065 & Sk. 169 of 1067 A.D.

37. E. C. VII. Part. 1. Sk. 169 of 1067 A.D.

find Bhagavati becoming more or less identified with Pārvati, the consort of Śiva. The next stage was when the Buddhasamaya was left out in the enumeration. Whenever important events had to take place, the śaivite svamis became honoured and seem responsible for the overthrow of Bhagavati³⁸. Should this be true, the conclusion would be irresistible that Bhagavati or Tāra could only be a Buddhist and not a śaivite goddess. The vogue of Bhagavati, however, continued as a Buddhist deity for some time more and a number of inscriptions that refer to her are doubtless Buddhist.

In 1902 referring to the Buddha vihara at Balligāve, the late Mr. Rice mentioned that he saw a mutilated image of Tāra Bhagavati made by Nagiyakka, wife of a headman, according to a Shikarpur inscription³⁹. We find in this image reproduced by him in *Epigraphia Carnātica*⁴⁰ characteristics enabling us to identify her with Syama Tāra or Green Tāra, who is a female Dhyani Bodhisattva emanation from Dhyani Buddha, Amoghasiddhi, sitting on a lotus with her right leg pendent, resting on a lotus flower springing from her seat, with her right hand in *varadamudra*, the boon conferring attitude, while at her base is Vajrasattva, the active agent of Ādi Buddha.

Towards Buddhism itself the Jainas exhibited considerable hatred, for example, Akalanka, a Jaina Dharmakīrti, claims to have overcome all the learned Bauddhas and spurned Sugata with his feet and in describing him we have the following:—Akalanka spurned Māyadevi who was standing in a pot apparently Tāra⁴¹.

In Śaivite philosophy unlike Jainism, Mahāvidya or Sarasvati or Pārvati became identified with Tāra and the absorption was complete by the close of the thirteenth century and Avalokiteśvara came to be appropriated as Śiva and Tāra as his consort⁴². In the

38. L. Rice : Mysore Inscriptions No. 53 at p. 123.

39. E. C. VII. Part 1, Intro. p. 20, and Sk. 169 of 1067 A.D.

40. E. C. VII. Part. I, Intro. facing p. 20.

41. E. C. II. SB. 67 of 1129 A.D : E. C. IV. Part. 2, Ng. 100 of 1145 A.D.
Peterson's 4th Report. p. 157. Pandavapurana.

42. F. K. Sarkar : The Folk Element in Hindu Culture, (1917) p. 169.

next century the famous Advaita teacher, Vidyarāṇya of Śringeri celebrated as the founder of the great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara set up an image of Sarasvati in the Śarada temple at Śringeri illustrating the merger of Tāra in Sarasvati. When we look at that image we find that instead of carrying *pāśa* or nose, *añkuśa* or the elephant's goad, characteristic of the Hindu image it has the Buddhist attributes of a rosary, a vessel of nectar, a book and abhayamudra⁴³. Thus Tāra's career in Mysore as a Buddhist deity reached its consumation with the popularisation of *Mahānirvana Tantra*⁴⁴, parodying *Mahāparinirvana Sutra* taught by the Buddha himself as his final sermon before he attained *parinibbana*. Walking straight into Śiva's parlour Tāra joined him as his consort and received from him instructions in the highest knowledge leading to *nirvana*. Śiva himself addresses her as Tāra, Māyadevi, Mahāprajāña and so on strongly reminiscent of Buddhism. On her questioning whether men can attain *nirvana* by restriction in food or by uncontrolled indulgence, Śiva replies that if by observance of a vow to live on air, leaves of trees, bits of grass, or water, final liberation may be attained, then, snakes, cattle, birds and aquatic animals would be able to attain it.

Instances might be added to the influence of Buddhism in Śringeri but one will suffice. Vibhandaka who gives the name to the āśrama in Śringeri was derived as born from a shining egg corresponding to Bodhisattva born of Amitabha, the boundless light in the Buddhist literature⁴⁵.

From the days of Śaṅkara Buddhism was attacked and later the *advaita* scholars and pontiffs of Śringeri came to be regarded as demolishers or destroyers of the Buddha doctrines and open enemies of Buddha Dharma. Bharati Tirtha himself is described as one who tosses up the Buddhas and reduces to powder in no time persons who preach Buddhism⁴⁶. This was naturally in the fourteenth century in the hey-day of Vijayanagara⁴⁷. Early in the

43. M. A. R. 1916 p. 15. para 19.

44. Arthur Avalon : Great Liberation.

45. Mysore Gazetteer, revised by Hayavadana Rao, p. 1174.

46. M. A. R. 1933. Ins. 33 of 1381 p. 211.

47. *Ibid.* p. 219.

fifteenth century while Śringeri was completely *advaitin*, there were still some stone inscriptions referring to Śringeri as the yoga kingdom, *śrīmatha* of Rīśya Śringeri that is Iśī Singa in Pali⁴⁸. The tradition about Vidyaraṇya that from a dull man that he was, he became all on a sudden so learned by the boon of Sarasvati that he released a Brahmarākṣasa in the Vindya Hills or that he defeated a Brahmarākṣasa in a disputation⁴⁹ would be interesting points for discussion in view of what I have said before that the Brahmarākṣasa was a synonym for a Buddhist scholar. The plan of the Vidyasaṅkara temple completed in 1337 at Śringeri has a double apse, one of the three of its kind in all India reminding us of its peculiar features of the palmy days of Buddhism⁵⁰ and I am inclined to think that it was intended to commemorate the triumph of the Vedantins over the Buddhists of the yoga Kingdom, that is, Iśīla.

Jina overcame Sugata and became Buddha; and Śiva overcame Śingalesvara, i.e. Buddha. The puranic conception of Śiva completed the parallel by holding Śiva as Dharma. It is not unlikely that this was brought out under the influence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism and that Śiva came to embody all the elements of the Buddhist greatness until Avalokiteśvara and Śiva could not be easily distinguished by a lay worshipper. He was even called Dharmakāya, an epithet of the Buddha, that is Dharma, the spotless—an emanation of the Ādi Buddha, śūnya, having neither form nor figure and being above all attributes⁵¹. Comparing the attributes of Śiva in the *Śivasahasranāma* and of Buddha in *Nāmalīngānuśāsana* we find the Yogi, Sarvajña, Mahābala and Siddhartha corresponding to Munīndra, Sarvajña, Dasabala, Sarvasiddhartha, apparently Śiva equalling with Buddha⁵².

48. E. C. VI. Sr. 1 of 1346 A.D.

49. The Legend of Śringeri J. U. B. S. IV. p. 19.

50. M. A. R. 1928 p. 15.

51. M. A. R. 1916, p. 12, para 16 & plate 6.

Carpenter : Theism In Mediæval India, p. 118 ; F. K. Sarkar : The Folk Element In Hindu Culture. (1917) pp. 169 and 197.

52. Anantakrishna Iyer : Śivasahasranāma with Nilakantha's Commentary. Verses. 40, 44, 45, 52, 127, 129 and 154 ; com. 186, p. 17.

It is hard to reconcile Śaivite inscriptions describing Buddha as an avatar of Viṣṇu. I am not able to say when Buddha was recognised as an avatar of Viṣṇu but there are heaps of Hoysala sculpture and others elsewhere representing Buddha as a naked figure hardly distinguishable from any Jaina image⁵³. But the recognition is there that the Buddha is praised by the world and by the Jainas for his irreproachable character as being an embodiment of the perfect form of wisdom, and for his message of unsurpassed peace and joy. His half-closed eyes under heavy eye-lids and the beam of smile on his lips peculiar to him alone mark him out as a living symbol of peace and joy arising out of his conquest of the sorrows of the world.

A stone inscription of 1397 in the Belur Temple says: "He whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vedantins as Brahma, the Bauddhas as Buddha.....that God Keśava ever grant your desires:"⁵⁴ but a Jaina grant of 1398 A.D. at Śravanabelgoḷa warns the Buddhists thus: "O senseless Buddha, you are foolish, get away soon. The illustrious Abhayasuri, a lion among disputants, destroys the elephants, great disputants....O Tathagata, head jewel of the fickle, you vainly torment yourself with the desire to prove the truth to be a bundle of falsehood. To tell you the truth, give up your love of debate and take to your heels according to the great worldly saying, 'If alive, one sees happiness'; for Abhinava reduces to ashes as the fire, the trees on earth, the hostile disputants⁵⁵." The pacifist policy of Aśoka based on Buddhism is attacked in a Śaivite inscription according to an interpretation relied on by the late Mr. Rice⁵⁶.

Throughout the State there are places of Buddhist origin, like Teraluru, Bikkhodu, Buddhanahalli, Sugatur, thus showing that Buddhism had spread even to remote villages, if my interpretation is not wrong. It looks as if Buddhist influence was traceable as far south and west of Mysore as Hassan and the Mysore Districts. The Tathagata village in the Mulabagal Taluk

53. M. A. R. 1933, p. 44 and 85; M. A. R. 1936, p. 20.

54. E. C. V. Bl. 3 of 1397 A.D.

55. E. C. II SB. 254 of 1398 A.D.

56. E. C. V. Hn. 13 of 1516 A.D. and Intro, p. xxx-xxxi

was given away by Śrī Vīra Krishna Rāya to Śrī Vaiṣṇavas⁵⁷ in the sixteenth century and at last Buddhism was driven away, though somewhat later Kalāvati is mentioned as a flourishing Buddhist city during the time of Achuta Rāya, '*tasya-cagneya dig-bhage buddhavāsa mahāpuri Kalāvati vikhyata*', that is, lying to the south-east of another village in the Srinivaspur Taluk⁵⁸.

In our study of Buddhism in Mysore we have seen that the Buddha Dharma flourished since the time of Aśoka all over the Mysore State enjoying the sympathy and support of the kings and people. Other religions contended for a place of honour and developed sharp rivalries *inter se* and against Buddhism but they soon found it expedient to evolve formulae like 'Śiva is Viṣṇu', 'Keśava is Śiva' and 'Jina is Viṣṇu' through pacts between Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Jainas for purpose of common protection against Buddhist preachings⁵⁹. Buddha stood out alone but conviction rather than necessity compelled the vanquishers to recognise *dharma* to the vanquished and Buddha became a God and was absorbed in the Hindu pantheon.

We might still trace some streaks of blood of the Mysore Buddhist refugees who went as they left their land of birth pouring out their hearts :

" Let kings punish,
Let wicked pandits deride,
Let relations forsake me.
O Father, Jina, I cannot live without Thee.

" Whether I live in hell or in heaven,
In the city of ghosts or of men,
Or elsewhere according to my Karma,
From that place let my mind take shelter with Thy good qualities.

" I am Thy servant, purchased by the price of Thy good qualities :
I am Thy disciple, disciplined by Thee with Thy precepts ,
I am Thy son ;
I feel pleasure in remembering Thee , and I go the way that Thou
hast gone.

57. E. C. X, Mb. 3 of 1521 A.D.

58. E. C. XII. Tp. 1 of 1533 A.D.

59. E. C. XI. Dg. 25 of 1224 A.D.

"Thou art my father, mother, sister ; Thou art my fast friend in danger :
Thou art my lord, my preceptor, who impartest to me knowledge sweet
as nectar.

Thou art my wealth, my enjoyment, my pleasure, my affluence, my
greatness, my reputation, my knowledge and my life.

"Thou art my all. O All-knowing Buddha. 60"

It is a matter of the highest gratification that Buddhism is being revived under the auspices of the Universal Buddha Society and that the Minister of Ceylon, Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, had laid the foundation-stone of the home for Buddhism in Bangalore under the enlightened sway of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore.

60, Bhakti, Çataka. Tr. H. P. Sastri. J.B.T.S., Cal. Vol. I. (1893) Pt. ii, p. 21.

CHITALDRUG

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

THE Chitaldrug district is rich in historical tradition, archæological and antiquarian remains, legend and folk-lore. As His Highness the Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar observed in September 1937, there are relics of the kingdom of the Pāndavas, the Cālukyas, the Hoysalas, of the pious rulers of Vijayanagara, of the Kāmageti Nāyakas, of Haider Āli and Tippu Sultān and of the Mysore Royal family. The historical value and the public interest of these relics have been greatly enhanced of recent years by archæological excavations though they have only scratched the surface of the mine of information that still awaits exploration.

Mr. Bruce-Foote described this tract of country as of singular beauty! The bold rocky hills which rise out of it in every direction are divided from each other by equally picturesque valleys full of fine trees, amongst which tamarind trees, pre-eminent for their love of granite soil, abound. The road from the 'Travellers' Bungalow at Chitaldrug to Hangal on the Bangalore-Bellary high road, which skirts the south side of the line of hills for the first five miles, and for the next four passes through them, takes one through a scenery not easily forgotten for its striking beauty, grand rocks and vegetation. My impression, however, was somewhat different: a little weird, desolate and forbidding. The rugged beauty of the rock, the hills and level and open plains are there but entirely destitute of the picturesque features and not a little stuffy. The soil is bleak and barren: there is scarcity of water: and there are no trees. The district on the whole is dry and thirsty, little or no forest is visible, stones and dwarf mimosa dot the landscape at wide intervals. It is quite possible, these parts were once rich and fertile as L. B. Bowring suggested. On many of the hills exist traces of forests cut down long ago and old records mention the existence of varieties of fine timber, now wholly disappeared, owing to the reckless way in which cultivators

used the trees, not excluding young trees or saplings for fuel and for agricultural implements, without attempting to plant new ones. Increase of population and the spread of agricultural operations completed the task. This denudation is largely responsible for the drought, there being scarcely any vegetation to arrest the passage of the monsoon clouds, which float onwards without depositing their valuable contents. The forest department is attempting conservation on a large scale and its policy of afforestation is bound to be helpful to the population, to judge from the remarkable results achieved in Central Turkestan.

If we exclude the recent discoveries in the Indus Valley, Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, the oldest of the structures which have so far survived in India appear to be pre-eminently Buddhistic. Ancient shrines generally are found in inaccessible places on rocky summits of difficult hills at great altitudes above the surrounding country, with a rivulet or a jungle-stream near about. Indian sages of old resorted to such places for quiet meditation in solitude, away from the din and bustle of the market-place. They were not, however, destined to be alone even there: disciples gathered round them and built Buddhist caityas, vihāras and dagobas as well as Hindu temples. We find them abundantly in the north of India, at Anuradhapura in far-off Ceylon, in the caves of Ajanta and Elura in the Nizam's Dominions, at Subramanya on the borders of Mysore, Coorg and South Canara overshadowed by the Kumara mountains, at Dharmasthala in South Canara, in Śringeri and Yadugiri (Melkote) in Mysore and elsewhere. The colossal Jaina image of Gomṣaṇāthā (Vardhamana Mahāvira) at Śṛāvaṇabelgola in the Hassan district of the State of Mysore built by a Ganga Viceroy, Cāmundaṛāya in the tenth century A.D. is a remarkable example of a peaceful and beatific vision contemplating humanity down the centuries. It is undoubted that the influence of Buddhism had spread at least as far south as the Chitaldrug district on this side of India as at Jaṭiṅga Rameśvara and Brahmagiri are found old vestiges of Buddhism. Kuntala was perhaps a part of the Mauryan empire and the three Aśōkan minor rock edicts discovered by the late Mr. Rice in 1892 on the remains of the ancient city of Iśila in the

Molakalmuru taluk bear ample testimony to the influence of Buddhism in Mysore in the third century *B.C.* and throw new light on the condition of South India of the period. Latterly evidence is accumulating of the spread of Buddhism in Kerala and on the west coast and quite recently a small brochure has been published on the spread of Buddhism* in the Tamil land.*

Speaking of Chitaldrug itself for a moment, it is not improbable that what is now known as the Ankli Mutt in the vicinity of the modern town holds traces of Buddhistic temples in olden days. It is said and, I think, not without reason that there were paintings there which unfortunately have long since disappeared. On the Chitaldrug hill itself, as my friend Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu has suggested at pp. 323-337, the goddess we are familiar with as Ēkanā-theśvari may have once been known as Tāra or Bhagavati, a Buddhist goddess. Buddhist lead coins have been discovered which go to establish the sway of the Śātavāhanas, an essentially Karnāṭic dynasty ruling from the Narmada to the Tungabadra in Mysore in the second century *A.D.* An article by Dr. Dreaper in the *Madras Mail* more than thirty years ago attracted the attention of Sir Alfred Marshall, then Director-General of Archæology in India. He sent a cutting of that paper to the late Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar who about October 1908 was able to discover ancient pottery—ordinary, burnt and glazed, ornamental beads and lead coins belonging to the Āndhrabhṛutya and the Cūtu dynasties. Also another brass coin was found and it was traced to a Chinese dynasty of the second century *B.C.* Besides, silver coins of the dynasty of the Roman Emperor Augustus were among the finds, indicating trade between India and the Mediterranean sea-board. Recent excavations of Dr. Krishna have resulted in the discovery of layers upon layers of a civilization going back, it is said, to the fourth or the fifth millenium *B.C.*—a discovery which opens up possibilities of the existence of a civilization at least as old as that of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, the Indus Valley or Sumeria. These discoveries have been made in a valley between Chitaldrug and the Ankli Mutt, where encircled by the range of the Chitaldrug hills

* Boudhamum Tamilum—by M. S. Venkataswami, 59, Karneesverer Koil Street, Mylapore, Madras.

runs a stream which must have provided water facilities to a town thickly inhabited in ancient times, for in that valley right in front of what is called the Cōḷagudda somewhat overgrown with lantana in some places and surrounded with cultivated fields are now found interspersed the site of this ancient city of Candravalli. The existence of a city of vast dimensions in this locality is further attested by the discovery of an ancient inscription on the rock in front of the Bhairava temple near the Ankli Mutt which is ascribed to Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty and belonging at any rate to the earlier centuries of the Christian era. This ancient and important city of many civilizations appears to have been known as Candravalli and work on this site encouraged Dr. Krishna to conduct exploration further afield at Brahmagiri, fifty miles away on the northern outskirts of the district.

The Kāmasūtras of Vatsyayana C 3 A.D. refers to the peculiarities of the women of Dravida and Banavāsi and to Kuntala Śātakarni killing Malyavati Mahādevi and Periplus refers to Benaouasei 116°—16°45'. Srikanta Sastry regards the alliance of the Śātavāhanas with the Cūtus as resulting in the foundation of the Pallava empire. The importance of the Karnāṭaka country in Indian polity is vast. Nepalese Nanyadeva of the eighth century is traced to Karnāṭaka origin by an inscription discovered by Dr. R. Shama Sastry and the Senas of Bengal have descended from the Karnāṭakas [E.I. 1. p. 300]: likewise, the kings of Kanuj, Jodhpur and Bikaner: and naturally therefore, the Gangas and Kadambas of Kaḷinga.

There is hardly a place in India which does not carry some familiar association with some incident or other narrated either in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. Rāma in the course of his expedition for the search of Sita is generally believed to have passed through the Mysore country on his way to Ceylon, assuming that to be the Laṅka of Rāvaṇa. Jātāyu attempted to rescue Sita but was mortally wounded on the Jaṭiṅga Rameśvara hill in the Molakalmuru taluk where a temple commemorates the incident. Might this be the Rāmagiri whence the cloud messenger in Kālidasa's Mēghadūta started on his immortal journey?

The Jaṭiṅga Rameśvara Hill, about 3,469 feet above the sea, connected with the legend of Jaṭāyu, is two miles north of Siddapura. A fine flight of steps leads to a Gaṇeśa temple of the Nolamba period whence you are led on to the Aśōkan inscription on the rocky hillside. The temple of Jaṭiṅga Rameśa is itself beyond this and on a western elevation where on the topmost peak is constructed the Hirē-Jaṭiṅga Rameśa temple, difficult of access and the pathway leading on from the top of a tree which has to be climbed to reach it. The temple is comparatively recent, being only a couple of centuries old, containing a little white linga, four inches in diameter. Closeby is a mark of a square hole where perhaps was fixed a lamppost. Midway between the lamppost and the temple is seen a boat-like hollow, shown as the place where Jaṭāyu after his encounter with Rāvaṇa was cremated by Śrī Rāmacandra. The flight of stone steps to which I have referred above was the work of the Vijayanagara rulers and the Pālayagar chiefs of these parts and the mahādvara or gateway is of the time of Devaraya I of Vijayanagara. Inside this mahādvara to the south and north are the temples of Gaṇapathi and Camunda, respectively, the images being slightly damaged. There is a stone foundation of an important building probably a palace.

While the edicts of Aśōka revealed the extent of the Mauryan empire in the Deccan and the excavations at Candra-valli and Brahmagiri suggested, not unnaturally, the existence, at least in the third century *B.C.* of an ancient Mauryan city in these parts, the Bhadrabāhu caves at Śṛavaṇabelgola and the Bhadrabāhu inscriptions there take us back to a similar period in another part of the Mysore country. The history of the Kadambas as disclosed by the Talgunda pillar inscription in the Shikarpur taluk of the Shimoga district and by the Mayūraśarman inscription on the rock near Ankli Mutt at Chitaldrug also make very interesting reading. A Jaina tradition relates that Candragupta abdicated and following his preceptor came to Śṛavaṇabelgola on his way to Kalbappu as an ascetic. The inscriptions and literary records concerning this tradition date from about the seventh century *A.D.* Śṛavaṇabelgola was perhaps within his vast dominions since according to Aśōka's inscriptions Cōlas and

Pāṇdyas were amongst his immediate neighbours. Nāgarkhanda in the Shikarpur taluk is said to be included in the empire of Candragupta. Apparently, the Mauryas had penetrated into the Kōnkan as well. And the Mauryas are mentioned by old Tamil authors as advancing up to a hill in the Tinnevely district. It is nevertheless curious that there is no image of the Buddha in these parts or traces of any existence of art belonging to this period. In the third century B.C. according to the Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvamsā, a Buddhist missionary was sent to Banavāsi, the Kadamba capital and to Mahiśa viśaya led by a warlike tribe called Kosar. Embassies of Aśōka may suggest that South India was outside his dominions. In the sources of the Karnāṭaka history, Srikanta Sastry presumes that they inherited this province from the Nandas as there is no indication that the Mauryas conquered Karnāṭaka. If this be true, Mysore was part of the Mauryan empire long before Aśōka. Vincent Smith also appears to be of the same view.

The Aśōkan edicts [E.C. XI. Mk. 14, 21 and 34] are engraved on the natural horizontal surface of the rocks and that on the north-west foot of the Brahmagiri hill is the most perfect of the three Aśōkan inscriptions so far found in the State. They record the transmission of the royal edict from the officers of Suvarṇagiri to those of Ikīla. A rocky pathway leading up the hill contains a mahal constructed in the last century by a Lingayat ayya for his residence. Old fort walls south of the village covered by the citadel hill and an ancient temple of Cāḷukyan times may be mentioned.

The inscription is 256 years after the Buddha and belonging to 252 B.C. or at least the thirty-second year of the emperor's reign. The script is Brāhmi and the language Māgadhi. For any details regarding Buddhism in Mysore or what is contained in these inscriptions, the reader may refer to Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu's paper on that subject. [Pp. 323-337]. Buddhism, however, appears to have prevailed in the Karnāṭaka country till the closing days of the twelfth century. The Kadambas were the successors of the Śātavāhanas in the south and the foundation of the dynasty is referable to C 250 A.D. There is, then, a large number of inscriptions which refer to the founder of the Kadamba

dynasty, Mayūraśarman, a Kaśmīri Brahmin, according to tradition. None of these inscriptions of this early period, Aśōkan or Kadamba, I am sorry to say, gives us any idea of any indication of the social life of the period or of the condition of the Kannada language under the Mauryas, the Śātavāhanas and the Kadambas. No inscriptions of this period in the Kannada language are discovered and till we come to the Mangaleśa inscription (dated 12-4-602: I. A. XIX, p. 16) of the seventh century or the Hālmidi inscription of Kākustahavarman of the fifth century. There is no evidence of Kannada so far as I am aware except for a stray verse of C 500 A.D. There are about half a dozen inscriptions of a professedly earlier date, but the character and the language of even a stone grant of Śaka 111 betrays its non-genuineness. It is remarkable that these have not been restored for nearly half a century and I must appeal to Kannada scholars interested in our history to do so. The Tamil script appears to have developed far later than Kannada. There is however no doubt that Kannada was known early enough and it must have been derived from a proto-dravidian original, and not from Tamil as is sometimes believed. Apparently till the fourth century of the Christian era, at all events, Prākṛit was the official language and Prākṛit and Sanskrit continued to interpret our thoughts and ideas for many centuries after the birth of Christ. The Jainas gave up Prākṛit and began writing in Sanskrit about the fifth century A.D. Jainism was in vogue earlier than Buddhism under Candragupta Maurya and Śrūtakēvali Bhadrabāhu. According to Nṛpatunga, people of Karnāṭaka were born poets and lisped in verse. Hālmidi inscription, Belur taluk, is the earliest datable record in the Kannada language of the fifth century. *Kavirājamarga* of Nṛpatunga is the earliest extant Kannada poetic work.

Peṭe-hola is the field west of the Brahmagiri hill. Two twin temples—*Akkataṅgiyara gudi*—on its slope contained good sculptures transferred by Purnia to a Rāma temple in the neighbourhood. There are many viragals or herostones on a mound to the south-west of which mention may be made of a headless soapstone image of Durga, holding in her hands a rudramāla. Seven viragals of granite, probably set up, according to Dr. Krishna,

by Vira-Ballala II, after his capture of Haneya, lie north of a rocky elevation called *Īagade-sālu-gudda*, the hill of rows of dice, and containing rude granite shrines.

Trial excavations by Dr. Krishna at Brahmagiri near the rock edict of Aśōka revealed four layers of civilization, the top-most of which consists of the stones of an ancient Cālukyan city, Haneya, of about 1100 A.D. which may have extended so far. The second contains the ruins of a Mauryan or more nearly Aśōkan town, Iśila, of 250 B.C. where further excavations have been carried on recently. Dr. Krishna seems to think Iśila to be a twin of Maski in Hyderabad, as he also considers Candravalli to be a twin of Paithan. The importance of the excavation cannot be gainsaid. The third layer contains vestiges of a pre-historic iron age town, much earlier in date, than any known to us in the landmarks of South Indian history. Going further down, the last layer contains the oldest remains of the late microlithic period. And Dr. Krishna adds that these finds in these parts are suggestive of the use of copper and iron in South India at a far earlier period than we can guess from those found in the Indus Valley. A certain Prof. Stein was here many years ago from South Africa to investigate the methods of manufacture of steel in ancient times. It was his view that the same method was employed in South Africa, South India, Burma, the Far Eastern Archipelago and Southern China, several thousands of years ago and that a furnace was worked by double bellows and that such bellows perhaps still existed in the Chitaldrug district.

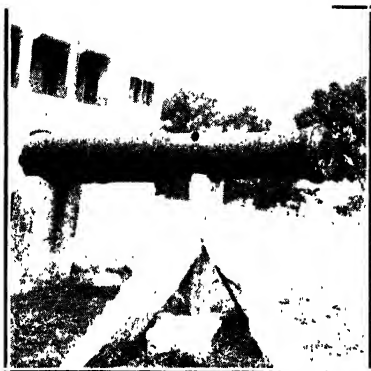
I have myself examined the sites at Candravalli and Brahmagiri. It appears to me that the existence and discovery of ordinary, unburnt, burnt, glazed or ornamental pottery is not uncommon in these parts, for the pottery found at Candravalli and also at Brahmagiri in the place which is described as the ancient site of Iśila bears marked resemblance to the pottery which I was able to collect at the ancient necropolis near the Lal-bagh at Bangalore and the pottery which Mons. Dubreuil has collected near Pondicherry. An examination of these collections shows that such pottery was well-known in India about two thousand years ago.

The pre-historic monuments of note called *Mauriyaramane*

(the house of Mauryas) are, as elsewhere in Southern India, also found in this district. I believe they are also known as Pāṇḍava Kuḷis or Pāṇḍavara Mane. These cromlechs abound near the eastern and western extremities of the Brahmagiri inscription. These groups of stone circles, cromlechs or dolmens are sometimes called *Mauryaradinne* or the mounds of the Mauryas but it is not likely they were sites of any Beda encampment as asserted by some. *Mauryaramane* apparently represent a vast graveyard where the ashes of the dead who were cremated were enclosed in a pot which itself was placed in these square or oblong stone structures with a circular opening on the top or at the sides for inserting the pot. These openings are about eighteen inches in diameter and are covered by stone lids which fit into the open space. The ground and the structure having been prepared beforehand, the pot filled with ashes etc. was put into the enclosure and the stone lid afterwards sealed the opening. There are some others carved by large heavy slabs about 8 feet in diameter and 9 inches or more in thickness.

The Mayūraśarman inscription, assigned to circa 258 A.D. which is still creating doubts amongst scholars about so many facts, was found in the valley of Huligondi identified with the ancient Candravalli, and it records the construction of a reservoir for water by Mayūraśarman of the Kadamba dynasty. After the Kadambas, the distinguished ruling race in the district was the Nolambas, a branch perhaps of the Pallavas. The capital of the Nolambavāḍi 32,000 was at Hemāvati, the old Henjeru and one of their cities lay to the east of Chitaldrug near Aymangala on the Chitaldrug-Hiriyur road.

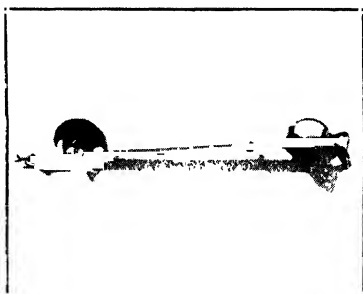
The town of Chitaldrug is situated in 14°14' N. L. and 17°27' E.L. surrounded with a line of fortifications including an inner fort, which is built at the north-eastern base of a dense cluster of rocky hills, very extensively fortified. The chief of this range of hills, striking and lofty, is sacred to both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, containing a pillar and shrine of Dhavalappa or Siddheśvara and called by the Muhammadans as the tomb of Saadaulla. An interesting legend describes Dhavalappa as a debtor of Saadaulla, enjoining on posterity that his debts should be paid. The bodies of those were laid side by side and every *kanike* or



Gun



Hidimbavara and
Sampigesiddhesvara Temples front v



Chandrayudha





Swing near Ekanathiesvari Temple



Carving



Chitaldrug Hill's view from Flag Staff



offering made to the grave of Dhavalappa went in liquidation of the debt due to the Musalman saint. In this way perhaps the debt was cleared. Not much credence is given to it, however, by the Lingayats of the place: yet, it is important as showing communal amity in those days. Chitaldrug was called Cinmulātri, an old name of the seven hills, at present called Meldurga and now surrounded by the seven rounds of fort walls; also called Citradurga according to one account, from the God Citra, of the hunters. One of its ancient names, however, was Bemmachenur or Bemmethanoor. [E.C. XI Cd. 32.] The Chitaldrug town gets its name from the large craggy hill situated in the west and the present town is an extension of an old one formerly existing on the hill itself, ruins of which are still traceable here and there. The present name is derived from Citrakaldurga meaning spotted or picturesque castle or citadel, or umbrella rock ಟ್ರೂಮರ್ಗ, umbrella being an ensign of royalty. In the derivation of Citrakal as given to us by the late Mr. M. S. Puttanna (Chitaldrug Pālayagars) as handed down by tradition, the Rasasiddhas who dwelt on this hill sprinkling *bhanganiru* (water of Ganja) on the rocks which left ornamental marks on them, the place was called Citrakaldurga or fortress of stones of Citra or picture in short a picturesque fortress, which it is.

The old town was within the strong fortifications having a wide space in its centre with about six lookouts or watch-towers. From early times the hill attracted the attention of kings and warriors on account of its commanding situation from a military point of view as well as its inaccessibility and points of vantage for defence and was a place of considerable importance for nine centuries. An examination of the inscriptions shows that the Calukyan governor Mangi Echayya was here in the eleventh century and the Hoysala called it *Bemmathana Kallu*. In the thirteenth century this was changed into Perumalepura by the Hoysala governor Perumale Dāṇṇāyaka. The valley and the peaks of the hill are covered by a large number of ancient monuments, at least a thousand years old. The battlements and bastions, moats, hill batteries, magazines and watch-towers were added to the old walls of the Vijayanagara period by the Nāyakas with the aid of French engineers.

The Chitaldrug pālayagars were Bedas or Kirātas of the Sanskrit writers, living by hunting and tending sheep and cattle. They ruled over the place from 1568 to 1779. Their ancestry is a mass of confusion but it appears three families originally migrated from Jadikal-durga near Tirupati, settling around Nirthadi on the boundary of Chitaldrug and Davanagere taluks about 1475 and Matthi Thimmanna Nāyaka who had first established a principality in Haḍavanahālu (ಹಡವನಹಾಳು) in the Davanagere taluk founded the dynasty during the declining days of the Vijayanagara empire, by personal prowess and deeds of valour, being careful at the same time not to rouse the wrath of the suzerain power which conferred upon him the nominal distinction of the Nāyaka of Chitaldrug. Kāmageti Thimmanna Nāyaka who was appointed ruler of Holalkere under Vijayanagara eventually became Nāyaka of Chitaldrug also and became so powerful that his suzerain had to send forces to reduce his pālayapat. In this campaign Thimmanna distinguished himself as the hero of a remarkable adventure. Stealing into the enemy's camp at night intending to carry off the horses of Sāḷuva Narasiṅga Rāya, he accidentally roused the groom and then he hid himself and lay quiet to escape observation. The groom believing the horse's ropes to be loose drove a fresh peg to the heel-rope which went right through the palm of the Nāyaka who, however, bore the pain without moving for the time being. Afterwards, he released himself by cutting off the hand which was pinned to the ground and carried off the horse in triumph. This unexampled proof of fortitude aroused the admiration alike of his followers and of the Vijayanagara rulers. He is compared to Vira Abhimanyu in prowess and he constructed the first series of fortifications. An ancestor of the pālayagar seized by its trunk an elephant in rut which was doing havoc in the Sultān's palace in Delhi and was rewarded by the title *Mada Kari Nāyaka*, after an elephant in rut, a name given to him by the Rasasiddhas—and which by constant use became Madakere. Obanna Nāyaka the successor of Thimmanna Nāyaka took the name of Madakere Nāyaka and assumed independence on the fall of Vijayanagara about 1588. The Chitaldrug pālayagars were not afraid of personal danger, were invariably valorous in battle, considerate and generous to the

enemy, wise and discriminating in their administration, far-sighted in their policy, devotionally inclined, deeply religious, quite orthodox in their beliefs and broad-minded and liberal to a fault. Their family gods and deities were Narasimhasvami, Kambali Devaru and Rangayya. They made their fortress impregnable according to the times and their works of public utility are standing monuments of their glory. Haider himself had no end of trouble in subduing them and had to resort to tricks and treachery and it was his sweeping and all-absorbing campaigns of conquests that ultimately made him succeed. The pālayagars were collecting the dues for the fief and were only responsible for payment of the yearly tribute to the Vijayanagara emperor and for military service. They had a trained standing army ever ready for offence or defence, for suppressing internal rebellion or for going to the aid of the suzerain power. The Kāmageti with its two branches *i.e.* Matti—Bilachodu line together ruled for over two hundred and eleven years, with trusted councillors to guide them, extended their territory far and wide and increased the resources of the State. The period however was one of continuous warfare in which bows and arrows in which they excelled still played a great part.

The five gateways of the fortress of Chitaldrug each leading through a stone wall, proceeding up the hill from the east to the ruined palace on the Chitaldrug Hill, 3,229 feet above the sea, deserve mention. Early traces of a fort on the western side about 1070 A.D. exist. Passing through the Kāmanabhavi to reach the first gate, on its western bank the fortwalls appear. The first gateway appears to be of the Vijayanagara period containing sculptures of Gandabheruṇḍa, serpent, Basavanna, Gaṇeśa, etc. The fortwall is twenty-five feet high, constructed of finely dressed blocks of granite and a formidable obstacle to the enemy. Passing on from the second and third gateways which contain nothing remarkable, to the fourth gateway, is observed a very strong structure of cemented stone-blocks going up twenty-five feet with a series of ornamental pillars and a large number of sculptural reliefs on the fortwalls. An elephant goring the earth, two elephants fighting with each other, Gaṇeśa, Hanuman are all depicted here. A little higher up, a small Gaṇeśa temple of the

seventeenth century (1679) and two stone buildings, one roofless and another with a low floor and suggesting a gun-powder magazine may be mentioned. The fifth gateway leads us to the area containing important buildings and temples, with a large gun-powder magazine in the south.

A monolithic stone pillar, forty feet high and a square yard at the bottom, with a fine lotus capital is found right in front of the Ēkanātheśvari temple which has an eighteenth century mukhamantapa added on to it. The northern side of the pillar contains the figure of a Nāyaka, probably the person who set up the pillar and a female figure on the eastern side identified to be his queen. It is said that a pregnant woman was sacrificed at the time of the erection of the pillar for an offering. A siḍi pillar used in connection with a well-known siḍi festival and a beautiful little pond used for *okali* or sprinkling of saffron water are found near the swing-frame. The swinging pillar of Ēkanātheśvari and the lamppost appear to have been constructed, by the devotionally minded pālayagars who were also responsible for many of the temples.

In the last quarter of the Dvāpara yuga, the Pāṇdavas after their entry into the house of lac to which they were betrayed by the wily Śākuni escaped from it by a subterranean passage with the assistance of Vidura through a stream and approached the hills of Chitaldrug where resided the giant Hidimba. Bhima during the fight with the great rākṣasa knocked out the teeth of Hidimba and the Pāṇdavas encamped in the valley of a hill which on that account came to be called Pāṇdavarahalli and afterwards in Huligondi (the lair of the tiger) near the same hill. The Pāṇdavas established, to continue the tradition, five lingas and even now there are five lingas called Dharmeśvara, Bhimeśvara, Phalguṇeśvara, Nakuleśvara and Deveśvara. Some of them are mentioned in an inscription of 930 A.D. [E.C. XI. Cd. 82]. Janamejaya of the illustrious line of the Pāṇdavas is alleged to have constructed the Gopalasvami temple in memory of his fore-fathers. Coming to historical times, the Kālācuris and the Cōḷas are associated with various shrines and places. Tradition ascribes greatness in a traditional way to the founder of the Chitaldrug pālayapat, Thim-manna Nāyaka who had been foretold of his greatness by Virupakṣa

Jois. The ruler was married to Oduva Thimmava. The first four walls were constructed in 1563 and when he became Nāyaka of Chitaldrug soon after, he constructed *Nallikayi Siddappana gudda*, *Raṇa mandalada suttina kote*, *Vanake kandi bagilu*, *Suttina kote* but these forts disappeared on the night itself, because as he was informed, the blessings of the Ēkanātheśvari in the rock were not invoked. Her blessings were then obtained and *Vanike kandi bagilu*, *Hanumantha devaragudi* and Ēkanātheśvari temple were then constructed. Ēkanātheśvari, the protectress of the fortress is said to be derived from *Ēke nacuti lāvari*. The Ēkanātheśvari temple is situated in the north near the old Jhanda Batheri or flag-staff, itself so called from the fact that the pālayagar flag used to be hoisted here on ceremonial, festival or warlike occasions. The garbhagudi or the central shrine is a cave and the head of the goddess, two feet high, is carved in bold relief out of the living rock. An object, perhaps no more than a piece of old stone, is shown here as a tooth of Hidimba a so-called trophy, and a smaller specimen of the alleged tooth of Hidimba is shown as such in the Hidimbeśvara temple itself. In this temple, the specimen is apparently a big piece of bone, and an iron plate six feet high and ten feet in circumference, is said to be the *bheri* or kettle-drum of Bhima, which was used in his fight against the giant.

The temple of Hidimbeśvara of which many inscriptions speak is one of the oldest on the Chitaldrug hills, with two navarangas one leading to the other. This was constructed and endowed by Mallanna Wodeyar about 1414 A.D. The image of Virabhadra holding a sword in his right hand and standing on a pedestal of a long lost *sūrya* with seven horses is interesting. At the entrance to the temple are two capitals with fourteenth century inscriptions. E. C. XI. Cd. 12, is found in the outer navaranga of the temple and E. C. XI. Cd. 13 and 14 are inscribed on the north of the temple. Two three-storied towers built by Mallanna Wodeyar, (Cd. 14) son of Devaraya I of Vijayanagara, in 1411 A.D. contain pillared verandhas suggestive of the rathas of Mammallapuram constructed by the Pallavas about four centuries previously and traditionally connected with the cars which Bhima and Hidimba are said to have used in their fight with each other.

There are in all fourteen temples on the Melāḍurga or upper hill of the Chitaldrug hill. A tradition similar to that of the origin of the Ēkanātheśvari shrine is responsible for the construction of another series of temples. Sampige Siddheśvara appeared in person before Thimmanna Nāyaka and there were seven rasasiddhas in *Kinnari kallu*, all of whom fore-told Thimmanna of his greatness, and addressing him as a son told him in Kannada : *aritū nadēdare āru paṭṭa, maretu nadēdare mūru paṭṭa*, i.e. the family of the Nāyakas would rule for six generations if they were wise : otherwise their dynasty would end in three. He was presented with *Nayakanige Desagattina dhulita* (ನೀಳುಕಲ್ಲು), *Siddha mulike, kai ambu* and was enjoined to be devoted to Sampige Siddheśvara. Mallinatha Wodeyar, the Vijayanagara viceroy, had constructed the Sampige Siddheśvara temple and Doddamal-leśvara and Chikka Malleśvara shrines and perhaps Thimmanna completed the work. This temple looks as an old cave temple. Mallinatha Wodeyar, commander-in chief of Bukka and Mahāmandaleśvara at Chitaldrug set up a stone swing here in 1355 A.D. On the hill is a masonry structure called Thuppada kola, shaped like a circular well, eight feet deep and twenty-one feet in diameter. There are huge millstones which were probably worked by elephants all the four moving at the same time by some ingenious contrivance. On the highest peak of the hill is a citadel, called the Lālbātēri, defended by a series of battlemented stonewalls. A large pavilion called Boppayyana Chāvadi and three ponds used as reservoirs of water exist to this day and nearby is another pavilion ornamented with sixteen-sided pillars said to be the place where the last of the Nāyakas was arrested by Haider's troops in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

While Bharamappa Nāyaka, originally of Bilichodu, was tending the goats in the forest and resting there, a cobra was spreading its hood on his head—like an umbrella. As Murugendriah, head of the Murugi mutt at the time who observed this, approached him, the cobra returned to its hole. The ayya to whom this incident was narrated predicted that Bharamappa would become a ruler in three months and so it happened. A ruler for thirty-three years, he constructed many temples, the outer fortwalls

of Chitaldrug town, doorways and trenches in the closing years of the seventeenth century and became foremost of the second branch-line of the Chitaldrug pālayagars. In gratitude, he also built the Murugi Mutt on the hills.

There are many cave temples in these parts of which mention may be made of Iśvara, the Siddheśvara, Phalguneśvara and Ēkanātheśvari temples. The Pañcālīngeśvara temple on the south-west is also of the same age. It is interesting to observe that cave temples are also found round about Paradesappa's cave near the Ankli Mutt on the top of Dhavalappanagudda. Many of the shrines are as old as the ninth century, if not earlier. Stone *sikharas* of the Cālukyan type, mantaps, *jagatis* or platforms bounded by stone parapets of the Hoysaḷa type have been in many cases later on added. The mantap of the Phalguneśvara temple where Arjuna is said to have worshipped this linga when the Pāṇḍavas were in Hidimbavana seems to have been constructed in 1260 A.D. by a Hoysaḷa viceroy, Somanna. In the mantaps of the Siddheśvara and Hidimbeśvara shrines are to be found octagonal pillars instead of round pillars found in other temples. The Gopala-kṛṣṇa image on the hill of Chitaldrug, the figure of Virabhadra in the Siddeśvara temple and the Bhairaveśvara temple near the Ankli Mutt are excellent specimens of Hoysaḷa art. Vijayanagara viceroys erected a gopura and a swing torana in the Siddheśvara temple and added a tower to the Hidimbeśvara temple.

The story of *Vanike kandi* connected with the second attack of Haider on Chitaldrug is interesting and is a remarkable testimony to the prowess of a lady, Obavva. Haider's forces were unable to affect an entry into the fort and to storm it was next to impossible. Crevices in the walls where a woman was carrying curds to the fortress were discovered and the invading army attempted to march through in single file there. Nearby this passage was a fresh water pond half way up the hill. One day when a bugler went to dine, Obavva, his wife, who went to get water from the pond, noticed the enemy marching in single file near this entrance. It was dark and hiding herself behind the entrance, she killed soldier after soldier with her *vanake* (pestle) as he marched through the entrance, till her husband returned.

Needless to add, in spite of this heroism, thanks to the treachery of Mussalman employees of the Nāyakas and the army of Jaramale (Bellary Dt.), Haider was ultimately successful in 1779.

The entrance to the old town of Chitaldrug within the fort was on the east by Rangayana bāgilu, called after Ranganatha, family deity of the pālayagars, on the south end by Lalkote bāgilu after entering the town, in the north by Santhe bāgilu or Siddiana bāgilu or Pathedarvaz and on the west by *sinīruhonda* (ಸಿನೀರುಹಂಡಾ), sweet-water pond gate *via* Burujana hatti.

The greatest period of prosperity of Chitaldrug as a fortress was under the Nāyakas of the Kāmāgeti dynasty who repaired old temples, embellished stone structures with brick and plaster and constructed stone buildings in the late Vijayanagara style. The cloisters and compound wall of the Siddheśvara temple in whose courtyard the Nāyaka rulers were crowned, parts of the Gopala-kṛṣṇasvamy temple, the mantap, the monolithic pillar and the stone thorana (garland) to the temple of Ekānātheśvari, a greater part of the fortifications, military works like erection of watch-towers, granaries and powder magazines, the temples of Uchchangiamma and other deities in the town below are all assignable to this period. Sultān batheri or Basavana burju, built on the lowest hill and called after Tippu, largest and finest of all the batteries in the fort is behind Uchchangiamma's temple, provided with a doorway, two watch-towers, forty-three musket holes and seventeen cannon openings. Near the doorway still lies an old cannon dated 1792. Inside the battery is a dungeon where state-prisoners were formerly confined. Attention may also be drawn to the system in use at the time of collecting rain water on the hill and conducting the overflow from pond to pond. The military and strategic importance of the hill continued for several centuries and Haider was hard put in its capture. His son Tippu constructed a mosque and a palace in the town below, retaining the walls of the fort and adding some of the arched frontages to the gateways and he stationed his troops there.

Ankli Mutt is in the west of the main Chitaldrug hill and the long, curious series of subterranean chambers there are worthy of notice. A good staircase leads to rooms of various sizes at different

levels, where shrines, lingas, baths, pedestals or platforms intended apparently for penance or the practice of yoga and, may be, reminding us of what we may be familiar with in Buddhist sanctuaries elsewhere. The caves themselves which are far older than the structures thereabouts of about the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries may bear traces of Buddhist influence.

The site of Candravalli is in the north-west foot of Chitaldrug, the valley round the site of that hill on the western point. The name of Candravalli, if the town is not so ancient as alleged, may have been derived from that of a real ruler Candrahāsa, a Kuntala king, who according to tradition ruled over these parts from his capital Kuntalanagara or Kuppatur in the Shimoga district. Another tradition which fits in whether the town is only two thousand years old or twenty thousand years old is that it was so called from its gorge-like southern end Hulegonḍi, making an arc like the moon or being somewhat triangular in shape, the Chitaldrug and Kirabanakallu hills forming its two sides and the Cōlagudda and the neighbouring parts making the third side. Plague appeared in 1703 in Chitaldrug in the reign of Bharamappa Nāyaka and the people put up sheds on the slopes of Cōlagudda, adjoining the valley of Candravalli. An inscription of 1086 in the Pañcālīṅga cave says that the thirtha of the five lingas was established by the Pāṇḍavas.

Four inscriptions are found in these parts, one at Neralagondi, another on the left side of the mouth of the narrow cave leading to the top of Dhavalappanagudda, a third on a broken black stone lying in the old water-course about a hundred yards to the west of the Hanuman temple and the last, the Mayuraśarman inscription already referred to. The third inscription is also interesting as it records the grant of certain lands in the Chitaldrug district, called Benmmatur-nāḍ to people who distinguished themselves in a boxing competition by a certain Nāgagauda, a dependant of the chief gauda.

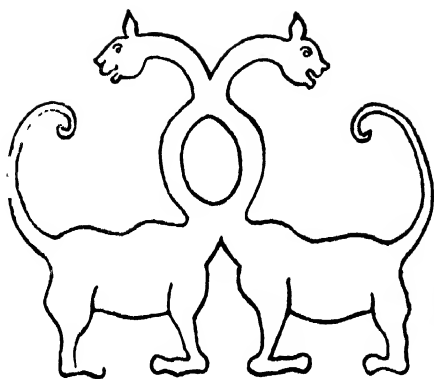
A custom amongst the Chitaldrug pālayagars, which continued till the reign of Chikkanna Nāyaka, known as that of marrying with the Candrayudha, may be mentioned. This weapon took

the place of the bridegroom who wedded the girl. In 1679, the Tarikere pālayagar, offered the marriage of his daughter, Hemavva, to Chikkanna Nāyaka, of Chitaldrug, through Bathere Thimmanaji and Krishnappa. When the Candrāyudha was despatched by Chikkanna for marrying Hemavva, her father took it as an insult and married another girl, one Sakamma, to the āyudha. Thereupon, Chikkanna attacked the Tarikere pālayapat. In the end the Tarikere pālayagar gave his daughter, Hemavva in marriage to the Chitaldrug pālayagar.

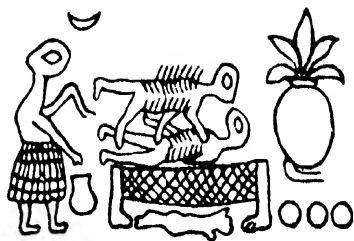
It is interesting to observe that the last of the Madakere Nāyakas was elected by the prominent people of the town.

Chitaldrug was of strategic importance from the days of the Hoysaḷas and in Vijayanagara times, a viceroyalty had been established there.

Haider's seizure of Chitaldrug is a memorable tradition in the place. No severity of military execution could restrain persons of each sex and every age from risking their lives with the constancy and exaltation of martyrs, for the purpose of carrying to the besieged such supplies as individuals could. Their noble and heroic exploits are still cherished and celebrated as much as those of Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampilidurga.



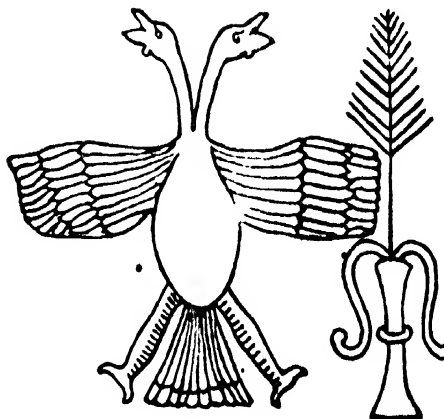
Uruk—Solar Felines



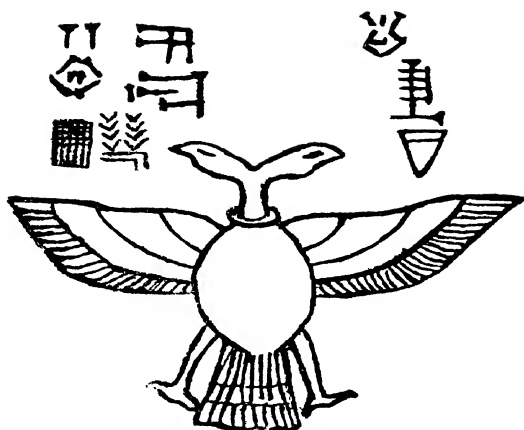
Akkad—Ritual marriage



Fara—Sunbird, Lion Swastika



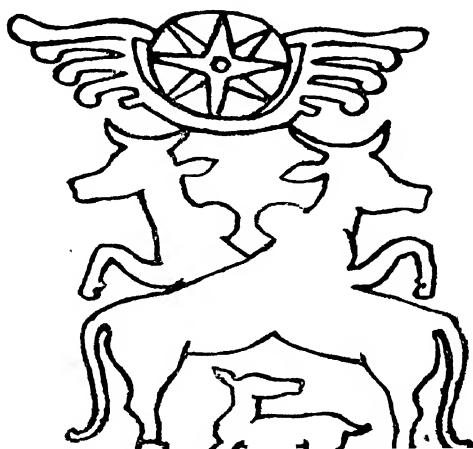
Seal of Urdun



Third Ur Dynasty



Boghazkevi—Hatti



EVOLUTION OF THE GAṆḌABHERUṆḌA

BY S. SRIKANTHA SHASTRI, M.A.

FOR a proper description of the evolution of the Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa which is the Royal Insignia in Mysore, we have to go back to tradition in the first instance. Viṣṇu became incarnate as Narasimha to destroy the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu and to rescue his devotee Prahlāda and the mad fury of Viṣṇu threatened the destruction of the Universe. Śiva assumed the form of a Śarabha which was the terror of the lion. Thereupon tradition proceeds, Viṣṇu immediately took the form of Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa which is superior to Śarabha and lives on its flesh. It is this Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa or the double headed eagle which forms the Royal Insignia or the Coat-of-Arms in Mysore. Coming to the Vēdas we find that the winged disc and the tree of life are recognised as indicating the spread of Āryan culture in the Near East. Frankfort from a study of the North Syrian designs has argued that the winged sun-disc of the Egyptian monuments was the most impressive of symbols of the Egyptian empire in the second millennium B.C. and that it was combined with the Indo-European conception of a pillar supporting the sky—the sky being pictorially represented by means of the outstretched wings supported on one or two pillars and surmounted by a disc. There was also the Mesopotamian sun-standard, where the sun was represented by a pole with a star (?) The pillar was also connected with the "Asherah" or "sacred tree"¹. Therefore this motif in the Mitannian glyptic was a synthetic product of Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Āryan cultures. He quotes Holmberg², to show that Ṛgvēda and Atharva Vēda mention the cosmic pillar which separates heaven and earth and supports the first, a motive which

1. Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*. p. 277.

2. Holmberg. "Barem des Lebens", *Annales Acad. Scientiarum Fennica* tom 16 p. 5,

appears for the first time with the settlements of the Indo-Europeans in the Near East. The disc on the Mitannian and Hittite monuments does not form part of the wings but rests upon them and even when the pillar is omitted, one or two figures support the wing-shaped sky.

II

In the Vedic cosmology, the Universe is divided into three regions³, and the earth is conceived as a sphere⁴ (*parimaṇḍala*) suspended freely in the atmosphere⁵. The motion of the earth round the sun was known and probably also the axial rotation of the earth causing night and day⁶. The same sun caused the changes in the times and seasons and his seven rays are probably the seven colours of the spectrum⁷. The sun never sets or rises and the moon borrows her light from the sun⁸. Ludwig sees references to the inclination of the ecliptic and axis of the earth. (Rg I—110-2; X—86-41).

Rājwāde suspects that the Vedic *ṛsis* were aware of the western hemisphere from the following :

विषुवर्णोऽन्तरिक्षान्यस्थद्गभीरवेषा असुरः सुनीथः ।

केदानो सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतमां द्यां रश्मिरस्याततान ॥

(Rg. I—35-8)

“where is the sun ; to which heaven does his beams extend ?” The sun's path in the heavens is compared to that, of an eagle and also the three steps of Viṣṇu. The *raśmis* (rays or gravitational pull) control the worlds⁹. The empyrean is called *Uru* and *antariksa*.

3. Rg. I-115-1.

4. Rg. I-33-8.

5. Rg. IV-5-3.

6. J. A. S. B. 1932, p. 11.

7. Rg. VII-58-2, I-105-9.

8. Rg. I-125-5, IX-71-9, IX-76-4.

9. तिरश्चीनो विततो रश्मिरेषां अधस्विदासीदुपरि स्विदासीत् ।

रेतोधा आसन् महिमान आसन् स्वधावस्तात् प्रयतिः परस्तात् ॥

(Rg. X—129.)

आद्यान्तर्नोष रश्मिभिः आन्तरिक्षमुरुप्रियम् ।

उषः शुक्रेण शोचिषा ॥

(Rg. IV-52-7)

आद्यरथं भानुमो भानुमन्तं अग्नेतिष्ठयजतेभिस्समन्तम् ।

विद्वान् पथीनामुर्बन्तरिक्षमेह देवान् हविरद्याय वक्षि ॥

(Rg. V—1-11)

त्वयं दधिष्वे तविषीं यथाविद बृहन्महान्त उर्विया विराजथ ।

उतान्तरिक्षं मिमिरे व्योजसा शुभं यातामनुरथा अवृत्सत ॥

(Rg. V—55-2)

सवै एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नोदेति । तं यदस्तमेति

इति मन्दन्तोऽह एव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यते

रात्रीमेव अवस्तात्कुरुते अहः परस्तात् ॥

(Ai. Br. III—44)

The allied ideas of the sun, the sky and bull are indicated by the same word *Gaṇh* which according to the Nirukta stands for the earth, animal, milk, skin, phlegm, bow-string, sun, rays, and sky. The sun's disc and the rays spreading from it naturally gave rise to the conception of the sun-bird, the eagle later represented as Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. Frankfort points out that the sun-disc does not form a part of the wings but is superimposed on them. In the Sumerian art "Shamash", the sun-god is represented as setting his foot on a bull, with rays or weapons, or plants in his hands or springing from his back and arms. He also holds a saw "to cut decisions", sometimes called the "key of heaven." Because of the unalterable course of the sun, the god was associated with the eternal law and justice. In a seal of the Third dynasty of Ur, the sun-god holding a saw is shown in a self-propelled boat, whose stern ends in the head of a serpent. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, two scorpion-men are said to guard the rising and setting mountains of the sun. Sometimes he holds a pear-shaped mace and is associated with lions. As a god of fertility and as a dying-god he is associated with a tree. His various

functions became separated in Akkadian times and assigned to several aspects of the same deity like Assur, Marduk, Abu, Tammuz, Nergal, Ningirsu, etc. The name Shamash is Akkadian and therefore the Semites who entered Mesopotamia "towards the middle of the third millennium *B.C.* not only introduced Shamash but also must have imparted solar characteristics to the cthonic gods of the land of their adoption." The earlier Sumerian god, like Ra, must have been depicted as traversing the heavens in a boat and later he is associated with mountains, though the boat of the sun is also found.

The sun-god is associated with bull-men, scorpion-men, men with bird-like claws, lions with female human body, etc. The storm bird Zu is sometimes depicted on the same seal. On a Sargonid seal the sun-god (Marduk) is shown between double-wings probably signifying the cutting up of Tiamat (represented in ritual as a pigeon which was cut into two parts.) But he is also represented as sitting on a bird-shaped throne in the boat. Quadrupeds, vases, plants, ploughs associated with the sun-god show him as a god of fertility also. In fact the Sumerian conception of the sun as primarily a vegetation deity is different from that of the semitic idea of the sun as a warrior.

The fertility motifs are depicted in several forms; the Mother-goddess whose "true son" Tammuz is her paramour, Abu, the lord of vegetation, the lion-headed eagle Imdugud, snake coil or entwined snakes, ruminants and plants. The sacred tree was the source of power and used for consecrating water. Animals flanking a tree are known throughout the Near East from the earliest times. Though used purely for decoration in some of the seals, it is clear that the tree was the centre of some ritual. In Assyria, according to Sidney Smith¹⁰, at the New Year festival a bare tree-trunk, round which metal bands called 'yokes' were fastened and fillets were attached, was used. The bare pole itself was used in ritual in Syria and Palestine also. Frankfort takes the "sacred tree" on Assyrian seals as representing the national god Assur. The tree—a cedar or a palm has sometimes a head

10. *History of Assyria*, p. 123.

wearing the horned and spiked crown of the gods as at Ishchali and elsewhere¹¹. That Assur was primarily connected with a tree and later with the sun seems to be the correct interpretation of the seals. The *asherah* (a pole ornamented with copper bands, cloth and ribbons) mentioned in the Bible as being used in Canaan¹² has been connected with the Ded-pillar in Egypt and hence Assur, "Shamash" and Osiris represent a sun-cult connected with the sacred tree. The god in the winged disc so common in Assyrian art is represented as hovering over a tree or water-streams are shown as flowing from his hands or from two vases for revival of vegetation. The transformation of this god into a warrior and national god is also understandable because the sun as the dispeller of darkness fights with night or powers of evil and also in his malignant aspects, he strikes the earth with fierce heat. The "wings" were originally meant to represent clouds as drops of water are shown in early seals.

The sun-disc, according to Frankfort became the symbol of the Egyptian empire and the Hittites also used the title "my sun" as equivalent to "my majesty". But he cautions us against considering the Asiatic symbols too exclusively from the Egyptian stand-point. The star which appears invariably with the disc on Hittite monuments is not Egyptian, and therefore thinks that it is due to Babylonian influence. He says: "The Indo-European immigrants who organised the states of Mitanni and Hatti arrived with a developed language and religion, but not, to our knowledge, with an art of their own."¹³ But it is difficult to imagine that a highly developed civilisation like that of the Āryans, having their own religion and myths, did not possess an art form.

Lesney¹⁴ points out that the Mitannian language is a third and unknown branch of the Āryan groups. The omission of Agñi in the list of the gods mentioned in the treaties of Shubbilu-lumma is significant, though Agñi is mentioned in later texts. Winternitz¹⁵ concludes that the Āryans migrated from the west

11. *Ill. L. News*. 5 Sep. 1936.

12. *II Kings*. 23. V. v. 6 & 14.

13. Frankfort. *Cylinder seals*. p. 209.

14. *Arch. Ori*. Volume 4. p. 257. 1932.

15. Winternitz. *History of Sanskrit Literature*. Vol. 1.

but also to the west in about 1500 B.C. Hrozný has shown that the original Hittites had proper names with Indo-Iranian affinities and Fomer thinks that the Luvians or Hittites entered through the Caucasian route, the plains of Anatolia and the Aegean littoral in the Fourth Millennium B.C.¹⁶ Therefore we can assume the existence of Āryan tribes in Cilicia and Asia Minor in 2500 B.C. if not earlier. In the earliest Hittite monuments we have the double-headed eagle (*Garḍa Bhērunda*) which is peculiarly Indo-European, though it has been connected with the Mut vulture of Egypt and Zu and Imdugud of Mesopotamia.

Thus the winged-disc is at first the representation of the sky or clouds with the disc of the sun superimposed. Later the God Assur is within the "ring" hovering over a sacred tree and blessing or pouring water. The "ring" becomes the "glory" and the wings are detached and given to a god, while a bird's tail or two bands "of heaven and earth" project below. The disk becomes reduced to a point and the winged god sometimes has two more heads (Anu-Enlil-Ea or Anu-Assur-Ea).

III

It is well-known that in the Vēdas, Dyaus (sky) and P' thivī (earth) are spoken of as the primeval parents. Aditi is sometimes identified with the earth but elsewhere distinguished from it and when contrasted with Diti, represents the infinite, universal Nature. In the ṛgveda (X-72) it is said that Dakṣa sprang from Aditi and Aditi from Dakṣa.¹⁷ Among her eight sons, with only seven she approached the older gods and cast out Mārtiāṇḍa who was produced for birth as well as death. Dakṣa here represents Yajña or sacrifice. Aditi is sometimes the wife of Viṣṇu, though in the Purāṇas, she is the mother of Vāmana.

अदित्यै विष्णुपत्न्यै चरुः (Tai. Sam. VII—5-14-1)

विष्टम्भो दिवो धरुणः पृथिव्या अस्येशानाजगतो विष्णुपत्नी ।

विश्वव्यचाः इष्यन्ती सुभूतिः शिवानो अस्तु अदितिरुपस्थे ॥

16. Poussain Commemoration Volume II. I. H. Q., Vol. XVI. p. 517.

17. अदितेर्दक्षोऽजायत दक्षादु अदितिः परि ।

"The all pervading and powerful Aditi, the wife of Viṣṇu is the supporter of the sky and supporter of the earth, sovereign of this world—may she strengthen us and be auspicious to us who are in her womb." Here Aditi is the supporter of the earth and sky probably like a pillar. Her son and husband Viṣṇu perhaps is paralleled by Tammuz and Ishtar, and also the Cretan mother-goddess (with a boy god).

The idea of a pillar supporting the sky is found in the *Atharva Vēda* (X-7.) where *Skambha* (Stambha) is the highest god on whom all creation rests. Skambha is the personification of *tapas*, and he is not only a bare pole or tree trunk but since the gods are represented as his branches, perhaps was conceived of as a tree, or a golden reed.

महद्यक्षं भुवनस्यमध्ये तपसिक्रान्तं सलिलस्य पृष्ठे ।

तस्मिन् श्रयन्नेये उकेच देवाः वृक्षस्यस्कन्धः परित इव शाखाः॥

योवेतसं हिरण्मयं तिष्ठन्तं सलिले वेद ।

सर्वे गुह्यः प्रजापतिः ॥

Therefore we cannot separate the notions of pillar and tree as supporters as Frankfort tries to do. Both conceptions are Vēdic, and survive in later texts also. Śiva is well-known as the supporter of the three worlds. (त्रैलोक्य नगरारम्भ मूलस्तम्भाय शंभवे) And the tree of life or *samsāra* or cosmos is mentioned in the Upaniṣads and the Gita, (ऊर्ध्वमूलोऽवाक् शाखः एषोऽश्वत्थः सनातनः)

Skambha has the function of Prajāpati and the phallus of Rudra-Śiva therefore must have been a pillar. Pillar worship having phallic significance was widely prevalent at Knossus, Anau, etc. The fertility cult of Sōma-Śiva came to be connected with the sun and the ritual marriage at the beginning of the new year in various parts of the world had the object of bringing forth the richness of the mother-earth and abundant rains. Hence in a passage (*Atharva Vēda* XII-1-12 and 42), Parjanya is the father and earth the mother. (भूम्यै पर्जन्यपत्न्यै नमोऽस्तु वर्षमेदसे) The marriage of the Divine Couple, Heaven and Earth, is alluded to in *Aitariya Brāhmaṇa* (10-27) where it is said that the two worlds

were one once but later separated. There was no rain or sunshine and there was no peace in the world. Then the gods reconciled the two worlds, who married according to ancient custom. The yonder world approached this world and gave birth to the sky and the earth. Neither the earth nor the sky was produced from the intervening space (air).

इमो वै लोकौ सह आस्ताम् । तौव्यैताम् । नाऽवर्षत् ।
नसमतपत् ।....असौ वै लोकः इमं लोकमभिपर्यावर्तत ।
ततो वै द्यावा पृथिवी अभवताम् । न द्यावा अन्तरिक्षात्
नान्तरिक्षाद्भूमिः ॥

It is also said that the sun supports the sky.

सत्येनोत्तमिता भूमिः सूर्येणोत्तमिता द्यौः ॥ (Rg. X—85-1)

Next, as regards the sun, though he is usually associated with a chariot and horses, we cannot conclude that this conception is opposed to the Sumerian and Egyptian idea of the sun in a boat. The path of Sūrya is prepared by Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa. Pūṣan (the lover of his sister Uṣas or Sūryā) goes as the sun's messenger with his golden ships which move in the sky-ocean.

यास्तेषूषन्नावः अन्तस्समुद्रे हिरण्मयीरन्तरिक्षे चरन्ति ।
तामिर्यासि दूत्यं सूर्यस्य ॥

(Rg. VI—58-3)

Sōma, the lord of vegetation is associated with the sun-bird. The Sōma plant was brought by a *Śyēna* or *Suparṇa* from a mountain region of the Gandharvas. In the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, it is said that Sōma becomes a falcon and alights in the sacrificer's house.

प्रच्यवस्व भुवस्पते विश्वान्यभिधामानि मात्वा परिपरी

विदन् मात्वा परिपन्थिनोविदन् मात्वा वृकाः

अघायवो मा गन्धर्वो विश्वावसुरादमत् । श्येनोभूत्वा परापत

यजमानस्य नोगृहे देवैस्संस्कृतम् ॥ (Taia. Sam. I—2-17)

श्येनायत्वा सोमभृते विष्णवेत्वा ।

(Tai. Sam. I—2-18)

The Suparṇa is identified with the Gāyatrī metre which brought Sōma to the earth in the shape of a falcon, though the Gandharva Viśvāvasu tried to prevent it. Elsewhere it is said that Parjanya is the father of Sōma. Later when the moon and Śiva became identified with Sōma and connected with vegetation and animals, the sun-bird or falcon becomes the attribute of the sun-god Viṣṇu. The *Tri-Suparṇa* hymn mentions the golden bird bringing ambrosia.

हिरण्मयो वेतसो मध्य आसाम् । तस्मिन्सुपर्णा मधुकृत्कुलारी ।
भजन्नास्ते मधुदेवताभ्यः । तस्यासते हरयस्ससतीर्ग ।
स्वधां दुहाना अमृतस्य धाराम् ॥

Garuḍa as the symbol of Gāyatrī or Vēda is well-known in the Purāṇas and Epics and he becomes the vehicle of Viṣṇu. The equation of Garutmān with Suparṇa is given in the following *Īk* :

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निं माहुरथो दिव्यः सुपर्णा गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधावदन्ति अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

(*Īg. Vēda* 1-22-164. 46)

The golden birds associated with the tree are well-known as representing the individual and universal souls.

द्वासुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्नन्नन्योऽभिचाकशीति ॥
यत्रा सुपर्णा अमृतस्य भागमनिमेषं विदथाऽभिस्वरन्ति ।
इनो विश्वस्य भुवनस्य गोपाः समाधीरः पांकमत्राविवेश ॥
यस्मिन्वृक्षेमध्वदः सुपर्णानिनिशन्ते मुबतेचाधिविश्वे ।
तस्येदाहुः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ते तन्नोन्नरादयः पितरं नवेदः ॥

(*Īg. Vēda* 1-22-164 ; 20 to 22)

It is not impossible that these two golden birds which **were** once separate, indicating *dvaita* or duality became one—the *Gaṇḍa Bhēruṇḍa* with two heads but a single body, indicating the transcending of duality and attaining unity (*Advaita*).

The same problem can be approached from the astronomical point of view. The usual assertion that the constellations and planets were unknown in the Vēdic period can no longer be sustained. The seals of the first dynasty of Babylonia (C. 2000 B.C) have no Cancer and Sagittarius signs in the later Babylonian form. It is probable, though there is no direct evidence, that the other signs of the Zodiac were represented as follows :

Aries—"Labourer"—small human figures (?)

Gemini—"Twins" *talim*—two nude heroes.

Leo—Lion.

Virgo—Any goddess with an ear of corn. Shala.

Libra—

Scorpio— } Modern forms.

Sagittarius—in the Kassite period as a Scorpion-man or centaur shooting with bow and arrow.

Capricorn—Ea's goat-fish.

Aquarius—Nude hero or a goddess with flowing vase, Gula.

Pisces—Mermaid and Bird ; "Tails".

Among the planets the Sun=Shamash, Moon=Sin, Mercury=Nabu, Venus=Ishtar, Mars=Nergal, Jupiter=Marduk and Saturn=Ninurta are well-known. But the astrological prognoses are only known in relation to the king or the state and "astronomy as a comparatively exact science dates only from late Assyrian times. In fact its most remarkable developments can be dated to about 700 B.C and ascribed to the northern town of Calah (Nimrud)"¹⁸.

But in the reign of Ammizaduga (C. 1775 B.C) exact observations of Venus were made and the signs of the zodiac occur on Kassite boundary-stones and their names occur in the Isin-Larsa period (C. 1700 B.C). "In any case there is no justification for the invoking of astrology as an aid to the explanation of seal designs of the early dynastic and Akkadian seals, though this is a possibility as regards the first dynasty of Babylon."

18. Schott. Z. D. M. G. XIII. 1934. p. 313.

Gadd¹⁹ points out the astral characteristics of the devices on the Indus seals found in Mesopotamia. He identifies :

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| (1) the water-carrier | (Aquarius) |
| (2) Scorpion | (Scorpio) |
| (3) Two men side by side | (Gemini) |
| (4) Bull | (Taurus) |
| (5) Bull with a Moon-God | |
| (6) Fish | (Pisces) |
| (7) Armed men | (Sagittarius) |

The astronomical character of at least three seals is self-evident. "The use of astronomical symbols so characteristic of Babylonia reinforces the suggestion of the seal with the Cuneiform inscription that Ur and other cities of the land did not simply receive these objects as a strange foreign import but took some part in moulding them." "The waterman as such was unknown to Babylonia both in name and figure. The corresponding stars were called *Mul Gula* (the great star). There is no representation of the astral waterman in Babylonian art."

Heras²⁰ asserts that the Indus people knew only eight signs of the Zodiac omitting Taurus, Leo, Gemini and Capricorn.

Ram	=	Āḍu	=	Aries
Harp	=	Yāl ?		
Crab	=	Kaṭaka	=	Cancer
Mother	=	Kanyā	=	Virgo
Scale	=	Tula	=	Libra
Arrow	=	Vṛscika	=	Scorpion
Jar	=	Kumbha	•	
Fish	=	Mina	=	Pisces

I have suggested elsewhere that the Indus seals are either horoscopes or commemorative tablets of sacrifices.²¹ In the Vēdic period astronomical observations had developed so much that it is no longer possible to doubt that the precession of the equinoxes, five planets, constellation, the zodiacal belt were

19. Gadd. *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur Proc. Br. Museum.*

20. *New Review* 1936, etc.

21. K. S. P. P. 1934. *Q J M S.* 1933 XXIV. pp. 224-230 & 333-342.

known.²² Varuṇa making a path for the sun is evidently a reference to the zodiacal belt. The ecliptic was divided into twelve parts or houses of the Zodiac according to the twelve months and called the twelve Ādityas. Among the planets the sun, moon, Mars, Mercury, and Venus (Śukra) and possibly Manthins are known. The thirty-four ribs of the sacrificial horse are the 34 lights, according to Ludwig and Zinner, the sun, moon, the five planets and 27 Nakṣatras. Guṇa-Viṣṇu in his commentary on the Cāndōgya Mantras, connects the Ṛgvedic mantras with the nine grahas thus.²³

Sun— आकृष्णेन रजसा, etc.

Moon— आप्यायस्व समेतुते, etc.

Mars— अग्निर्भूर्धादिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् ।
अपाँ रेतोँसि जिन्वति ॥

Mercury—अग्ने विवस्व दुषसश्चित्रं राघो अमर्त्ये ।
आदाशुषे जातवेदो वहात्वमद्या देवाँ उषर्बुधः ॥

Jupiter— बृहस्पते परिदीयारथेन रक्षोहामित्राँ अपनाधमानः ।
प्रभन्जत्सेनाः पृमृणे युधाजयम् अस्माकमेध्य वितारथानाम् ॥

Venus— शुक्रंते अन्यद् यजतन्ते अन्यद् विषुरूपे अहनिर्बौरिवासि ।
विश्वाहिमाया अवसिस्वधाबन् भद्राते पूषन्निहरातिरस्तु ॥

Saturn— शंनोदेवीरभिष्टये शंनोभवन्तु पीतये ।
शंयोरभिस्रवन्तुनः ॥

Rāhu— कयानश्चित्र आभुव दती सदावृधः सखा ।
कया श्चिष्टया वृता ॥

Kāthu— केतुं कृण्वन्न केतवे पेशोमर्या अपेशसे ।
समुषद्भिरजायथाः ॥

22. Ramakrishṇa Centenary Volume.

23. Cāndogya Mantra Bhāṣya.

The Chinese order of the Zodiac beginning with Virgo is derived from the Indian system.²⁴ Since the astronomical character of at least some of the Indus seals seemed to be certain and since the Indus civilisation must be taken back to at least 3500 or 4000 B.C. on the evidence of ceramics,²⁵ and its influence is acknowledged even in the earliest period of the Sumerian civilisation, it can be asserted that Indian influence was felt in the realms of Mesopotamian legends and art.

Frankfort has shown that a seal in the Brett collection, undoubtedly of the Jamdet Nasr age (± 3500 B.C.) as is clear from its technique and tree and mountain designs, yet depicts a monster which is unique in Mesopotamian art, but well-known in the Indus civilisation. The bull with elephant's trunk and an ibex flanking a tree has its parallel. (Marshall: Plate CXII, p. 377). The glazed steatite cylinder depicting an elephant, rhinoceros and gharial, found at Tell Asmar is certainly of Indian origin. The steatite vase of Tell Agrab is Mesopotamian in execution and yet it shows a building which shelters a Brahmani Bull standing in front of its manger. This vase belongs to the second or first early dynasty (± 3000 B.C.). Later at the same site, there is a similar design on a pot of "scarlet ware"—a fabric made only during the first early dynastic period²⁶.

Even earlier than the Jamdet Nasr age in the Uruk and Al Ubaid periods (4500-3500 B.C.) we find clear evidence of Indian influence. This period in my opinion belongs to the Jhukar culture at Chanhu Dāro having affinities with Tell Halaf and Samarra. Therefore the Harappa culture is still earlier and the motifs like the sun-disc, tree of life, winged-bird—single or double headed, trace their origin to Indian culture.

IV

For these motifs, evidence from the Vēdas has been produced above. I have all along held that there is very little evidence to

24. *Indian Culture*, January 1938. IV. 296-297.

25. *Poussain Memorial Number* Vol. II. I. H. Q. pt. 3, 1940. pp. 511-523.

26. Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals*.

show that the Indus culture is not Āryan but post-Vēdic. Astronomical and archæological evidence is now accumulating to show that Ṛgvēdic culture must go back to at least 10,000 B.C. The Neolithic character of the earliest Vēdic civilisation has been pointed out by S. V. Vēnkatesvara and Rajwāde²⁷. And on astronomical grounds, Tilak dates the Aditi or Pre-Orion period as 10,000—8,000 B.C., Ketkar 7,500 B.C., J. C. Ray for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3,000 B.C., R. K. Patāṅkar 11,000 B.C., and P. C. Sen Gupta for the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* 3,100 B.C. Therefore it is not in a mere epigonic spirit that the claim for the origin in India of these art motifs has been made. The cultural contact with Assyria, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Anatolia in the fourth millennium B.C. is proved by archæological evidence. Upham Pope's discoveries in Luristan and Nehavand²⁸, of bronzes of the second millennium B.C. show the persistence of Āryan motifs in the midst of alien influences. Five cultures (Mitannian, Assyrian, Luristan and Beaker with Āryan) had coalesced. He says: "Obviously all are branches with a common centre, not yet determined. It is a temptation to identify the common source as the Āryans." The bronze pins with flat disk-heads, used probably to fix the animal talisman to its base, have winged goats holding a mask, human-headed winged goats flanking a tree with lotus buds. Lotus buds are entwined round a lion-mask, and a human mask from which twenty-four rays radiate, the central boss being divided into seven parts, each part filled with a cross pat once, a leaf marking each diagonal axis, and from the outer corners a conifer (?) branch. This must really be taken to represent an astronomical document. Pope thinks that the goats and the equilateral cross are lunar emblems and that the lion-mask and lotus buds represent the sun. He says: "The tree sprouting lotus buds and is *not* the horn bracket, must be the sun-tree or *Haoma*, the second major cosmological tree—different from the tree guarded by goats, serpents, water-birds (a motive already found on Susa I pottery). The latter is the moon-tree set in a horned bracket and called in the

27. VI Oriental Conference. Rajwāde. Words in Ṛg Vēda.

28. Ill. L. News. 1932.

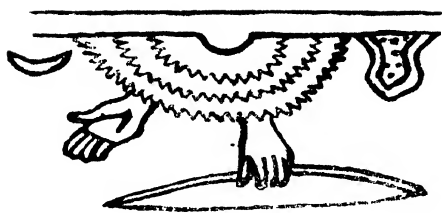
Avesta the "ox-horn" tree or Silver Haoma. The two trees cannot be taken¹ as identical and called the Tree of Life. A god dominating the goats represents the power controlling the astral bodies and seasons. His consort may be like the Iranian animalistic goddess of moon, called by the Avestic period *Drvaspa*". I have elsewhere adduced evidence to show the existence of a culture-type which may be called Hydro-Selenic culture²⁹ connected with water and moon, as opposed to the later Helio-lithic culture connected with the sun and stone, as enunciated by Elliot Smith and Perry. In view of all the facts adduced above, the winged disk, the tree of life, double-headed eagle, the mother-goddess with snakes, representing the Hydro-selenic culture typically Āryan became fused with the later Helio-lithic culture of the Mediterranean and Semitic races to produce the great civilisation of the Indus valley, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt and Crete.

Thus the winged sun-disc associated with the tree of life has evolved through the ages to the present form of the Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa. The evidence of the Egyptian, Assyrian and Hittite monuments adduced above clearly shows that it was primarily a fertility symbol. While in the Hittite sculptures from Western Asia it first occurred as an emblem much anterior to 1,000 B.C. It is also found on an early ivory of the Geometric period from Sparta. Later on, however, it seems to have been introduced at Taxila, where its presence is interesting. It may be that from the Scythians the Eagle was adopted into the Imperial Arms of Russia and Germany and from Taxila it found its way to Vijayanagara and Ceylon. The punch-marked coins of Taxila and the monuments of the Cālukyas, Hoysāḷas and the Kēḷadi dynasties have representations of this emblem. It was also the Royal Crest of the Telugu Kōṭa Chiefs of Dhanyakāṭaka in the Guntur District, chiefs who ruled in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries and were apparently related by inter-marriage to the Kākatiyas of Wārangal. When the double-headed eagle is

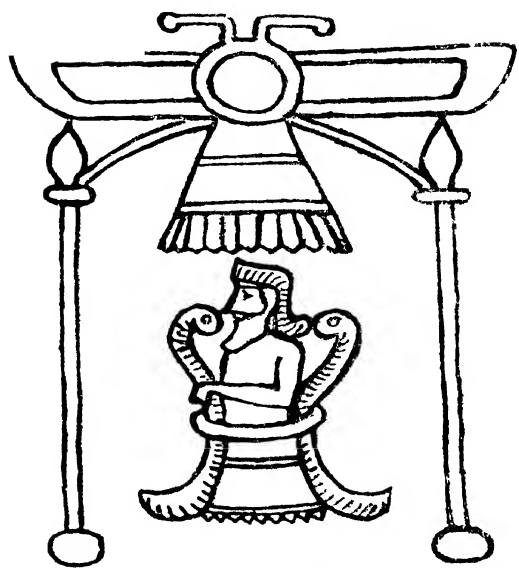
29. *VIII Oriental Conference*. In my paper on Hydro-selenic culture. Read before the Ethnology and Folk-lore section. *Man in India*. XXI. 1941.

represented as clutching elephants, it is reminiscent of other motifs like that of the Gajalakṣmi where the elephants pouring water represent the clouds. This is obviously derived from the rain clouds flanking the sun-disc and hands or talons from the disc pouring water, as on the Assyrian seals. At Belagami, the Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa Statue is in an anthropomorphic form and the eagle is represented as devouring demons. But the appearance of Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa in a ceiling at Keḷadi is different. There the bird is represented as holding an elephant in its beak and in each claw. In Hoysaḷa sculptures, the chain of destruction culminating in a Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa frequently occurs. The Vijayanagara king, Acyuta Rāya, who ruled in the sixteenth century issued coins with the figure of the Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa on the reverse. The Vijayanagara rulers and the Keḷadi chiefs used the symbol to denote supremacy, whereas in the Hoysaḷa times, the Garudas were the loyal servants who had vowed to die with their master. When Mysore succeeded to the glorious heritage of Vijayanagara, the Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa appeared on the royal flag. Fundamentally therefore from time immemorial, this symbol has stood for peace, prosperity and plenty.

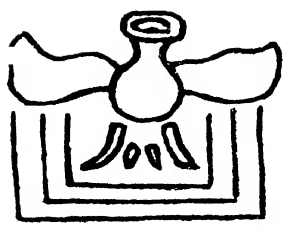
The Mysore Crest is designed as the Imperial Coat-of-Arms with the Mysore Coat-of-Arms inserted in the centre for what appears there, the lion passant bearing in his mouth a buffalo's head. The lion is the vehicle of Cāmuṇḍi, the tutelary goddess of the Mysore Rājas, who destroyed the minotaur Mahiṣāsura, which gives the name to the country. When the goddess cut off the head, the demon rose out of the neck in human form and the lion her vehicle, seized the head. Yālis or mythological beasts, which figure extensively in Hindu temples in Southern India are the supporters.



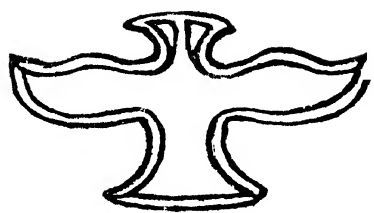
Assyrian



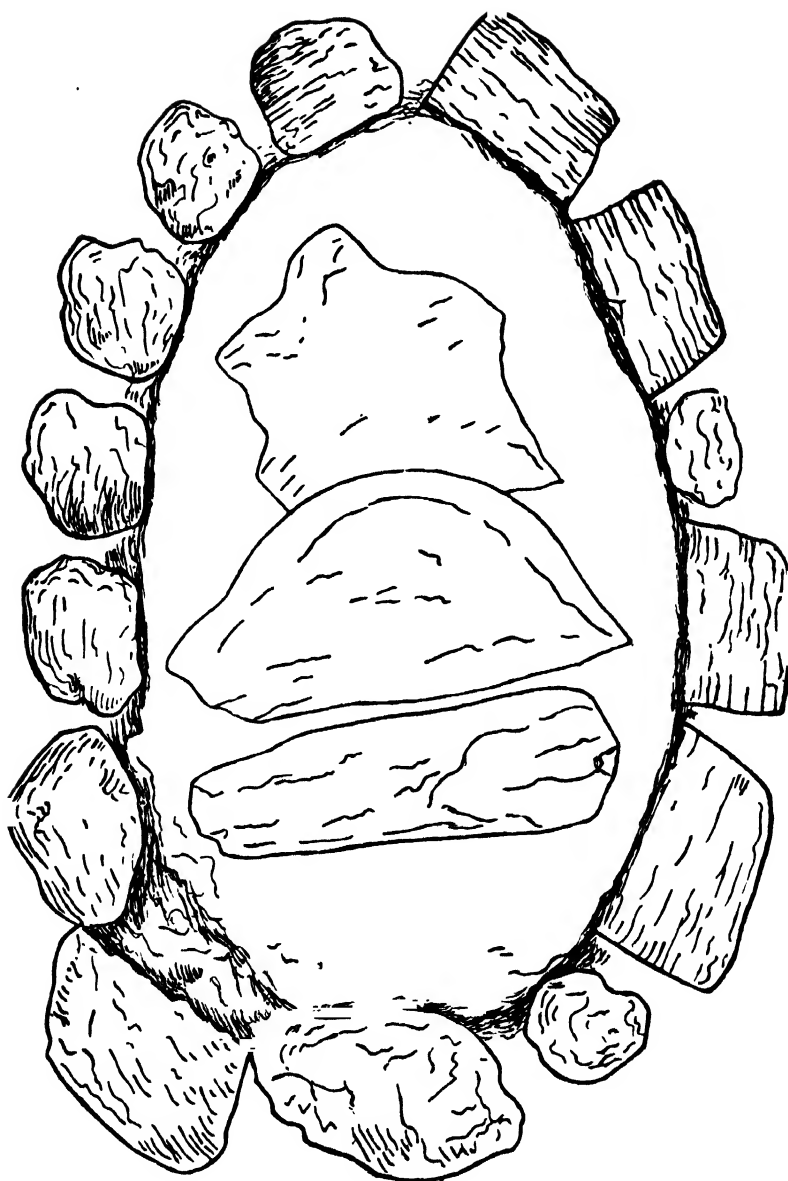
Achaemenid



Akkad



Lachish



TEXT FIGURE 1

Plan of Stone Circle No. 2 with the covering slabs exposed

RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF THE PERUMAL HILLS, KODAIKANAL

BY DR. A. AIYAPPAN, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.I.

FATHERS Anglade and Newton of the Sacred Heart College, Shembaganur, Madura district have described the dolmens of the Palni Hills in their paper on this subject which has been published as Memoir No. 36 of the Archaeological Survey of India. They have also referred to the occurrence of "stone circles"¹ and urn burials in Perumal Hills. These three types—dolmens, stone circles and urn-burials—of the so-called prehistoric monuments of Southern India are being destroyed everywhere by the inroads of civilisation, but in the Palni Hills they are more or less protected, except near the roads, on account of their inaccessible situation. Unfortunately, most of the dolmens have been opened by treasure hunters and their contents rifled, but several of them still retain enough of their original features to give us an idea of the manner of their construction². Unlike the dolmens which by their large size and prominent situation invariably arrest attention, the stone circles are inconspicuous and very often completely hidden from view by thick growth of bracken and sedge. Father Anglade

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1. The "stone circles" are strictly speaking not one of them, circular, some being oval, others oblong, etc. I have examined about fifty of them, but cannot be certain that their makers wanted to give them any definite shape. The term "stone circles" is applied to them on account of their apparent similarity to the stone circles surrounding various funerary structures.
 2. From an examination of the dolmens in the Vilpatti valley, I gained the impression that they could not have been dwelling places as suggested by Fathers Anglade and Newton.

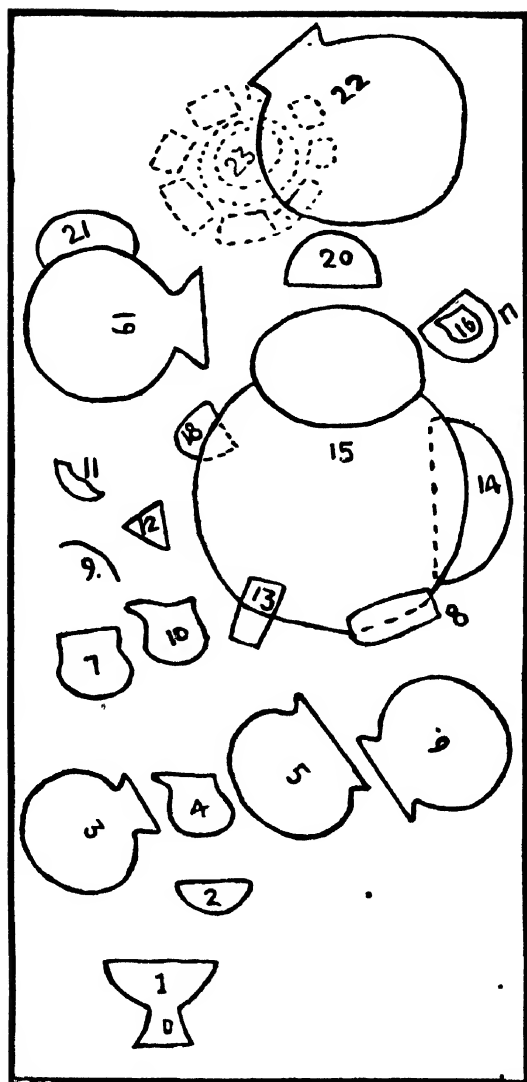
whose knowledge of the geography and archæology of the Kodaikanal taluk is profound and unequalled is of the opinion that there are scores of these stone circles in the Perumal Hills.

Two of these stone circles were excavated by me in August-September, 1940. The site of the first of these was the saddle below the hill locally known as the *Panca-Pāndavar-mettu* (the hill of the five Pāndavas³, as there are two dolmens on it). In the valley below is a paddy field known as *Vellayan-Pillai-vayal* belonging to the Perumal Malai coffee estate. The second circle was one among several to be found on a low saddle leading to the hill called *Uppu-parai*. These sites are in the Vilpatti valley facing the populous and picturesque village of the same name.

Stone Circle No. I

This was oblong in shape and was selected for excavation as the outline appeared prominent. Its maximum length was twelve feet. The ring was formed by two large, thickish slabs of gneiss on the sides, and one between them at the extreme eastern end, the rest being irregular bits of flag stone, all planted vertically on edge. The long axis of the circle was aligned in the ENE-WSW direction, and the maximum breadth at right angles to it was six feet six inches. The space enclosed by the stone ring was filled with rubble and overgrown with bracken and grass. The black humus was about a foot and a half thick, and amidst the roots a few sherds of pottery were to be found with their slip corroded by roots growing in close contact with them. Below this layer was the usual clayey soil interspersed with broken boulders. At a depth of about two and a half feet it was found that a narrow trench eight and a half feet long and one and a half feet broad had been dug, the looseness of the soil that filled it indicating its extent. Over the trench, at a depth of two feet from the surface, there were two horizontal slabs of stone placed across the trench, one across the eastern and the other across the western ends. There was a hollow below the latter which I thought might be due to

3. As elsewhere, the people of Kodaikanal believe that dolmens were houses built by the Pāndava brothers.



TEXT FIGURE 2

Arrangement of the Pottery inside Stone Circle No 2



a. Surface view of Stone Circle No. 2



b. Stone Circle with the covering slabs exposed

some urn below having collapsed, but there was nothing of the kind, the earth being just loose. Sherds of pottery became more frequent as the digging proceeded down, but everything was so crushed that no shapes could be made out. The fabric itself was very inferior and the sherds difficult to be extricated from the sticky clay. Clayey soil, as is well-known, is extremely harmful to pottery. From the middle of the floor of the trench was got a hoop of iron, probably part of a bangle. One of the sherds was recognisable as that of a pottery laddle⁴. There is no doubt that some pottery was placed in the trench but they were comminuted partly due to the inferior character of the pottery and partly to the rubble having been thrown in.

Stone Circle No. 2

The shape of the ring (text fig. 1, and also plate I, *a*) in this was roughly oval, the longest diameter which lies in the NW-SE direction being ten feet six inches and the maximum distance across being about seven feet. In spite of the thick growth of vegetation, the soil from the northern portion of the ring has been eroded to a depth of about a foot due to the natural drainage in the region of the saddle in which the circle is situated. The ring is formed by fragments of flag stone, the larger ones among them measuring about two to three feet, placed on their edges, giving the enclosure a walled-in appearance when the earth is removed. Less than a foot of the larger stones of the circle projects, above the ground level.

In the surface layers of earth within the circle were found fragments of pottery the shapes of some of which were identifiable. A few sherds belonged to an offering stand of the type represented in text fig. 2, 1 and plate III, *a*, and some others were fragments of a jug similar to the one shown in plate II, *b*. Instead of the two covering slabs in No. 1, there were three in No. 2, (plate I, *b*) and it was obvious that they had been placed over a sort of trench in which a number of broken and some unbroken pottery (plate II, *a*) had been deposited. The earth in a few vessels appeared to be black due probably to

4. It is planned to publish a fuller account of the pottery from Kodaikanal at a later date.

ashes, the assumption being supported by the presence here and there of pieces of wood-charcoal. Chemical analysis by Dr. Paramasivan of the Madras Government Museum showed that the samples of the dark-coloured earth from the pottery did not contain bone ash. Except for the bits of charcoal, and bits of quartz that probably came accidentally into the pit, the whole of the finds consist of pottery. The arrangement of the pottery is schematically shown in text fig. 2, and the manner in which they were jumbled particularly at the western end is shown in plate II, *a*.

The pottery is remarkable for their shapes some of which are unique and reported now for the first time from Southern India. They are therefore described in some detail below :

1. The first complete specimen of pottery to be revealed on digging was an offering stand (text fig. 2, No. 1). It was near the extreme NW end and was probably placed erect though it had fallen over and got crushed by the weight of the soil above. It was placed about eight inches above the level of the pottery immediately in front of it and is 15.6 cm. high, 23 cm. across the top, and 14.4 cm. across the pedestal. The clay is somewhat coarse and had been baked to a light brown shade in the pedestal portion and also most of the outside of the bowl part, its inside and the top portion of the outside being black as in the carboniferous wares of Southern India. The pedestal appears to have been added to the bowl-like part, and is fenestrated by four narrow oblong holes that have been cut in it while the clay was still moist.

Smaller offering stands have been known before from old burials in Southern India, but pedestals with holes are now being reported for the first time. Another offering stand presented to the Madras Government Museum by Father Anglade has circular holes in the pedestal.

2. A bowl, only partially reconstructed, about 13 cm. in diameter, and 6.5 cm. high. Comparatively well-made of red ware. The rim is rounded and the thickness ranges from four to five millimetres. No carboniferous portion. The vessel rested almost on the floor of the trench.



a. Crushed Pottery in Stone Circle No. 2



b. Beak-spouted Inc



a Offering Stand



b. Cup

3. Round pot of red ware lying on its side with the mouth towards the middle line. General description similar to that of No. 6 below.

4. Jug, only partially reconstructed. General description similar to that of No. 10 below. Placed at the mouth of No 3.

5. Hemispherical pot, 15 cm. high, and 22.5 cm. across, with everted lip. Lying on the side.

6. Round pot of red ware, on the right margin of the trench, lying on its side with the mouth towards the middle line. Height 21.9 cm. diameter across the mouth 13.8 cm. across the neck, 9.8 cm. and across the belly, 21.6 cm.

7. Interesting cup of red and black ware (plate III, *b*). The reddish slip is worn off. The black prevails over the inside, and also the outside except a small area near the bottom. The mouth has an oval outline, the vessel probably having been pressed towards the middle from the two sides in the region of its rim. About three-fourths of an inch below the rim there is a constriction. The oval shape of the mouth would make it easier to pour out liquid from the cup without spilling it. The longest diameter across the mouth is 10.3 cm., the diameter at right angles to it, 8.8 cm. the height, 9.5 cm. and the thickness, about 3 mm.

The shape is somewhat uncommon in Southern India. The Madras Museum received recently a couple of cups of this shape from urn burials of the Ramnad Zamindary examined by Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyangar. A few more are found in the collection of pottery in the office of the Superintendent of Archaeology of the Southern Circle which I was able to examine through the kindness of Mr. G. C. Chandra.

8. Sherd of red and black ware.

9. Sherd of red ware.

10. Beak-spouted jug (plate II, *b*). Height from base to the tip of the lip, 14.8 cm. diameter across the mouth, 9.5 cm. and across the belly, 12.8 cm. Red ware. Moulded partly on the wheel and then by hand.

The nearest archæological site where spouted jugs of similar shape have been found is in ancient Iran and the date goes back to the third millennium B.C.⁵

11, 12, 13. Sherds.

14. Flat bowl of red ware on the right margin. Resembles the lid of the urns in South Indian urn burials.

15. The biggest of the pots in the series. Probably placed erect, but fell on its side, and the mouth part got crushed into the belly. The latter filled with loose earth. Red ware. Ornamented below the neck (see plate II, *a*). Diameter across the mouth about 33 cm.

16, 17. A small bowl and within it a spouted jug all crushed to small fragments.

18. A small bowl. Red ware.

19. A round pot, cf. No. 6.

20. A bowl crushed out of shape.

21. Sherds, probably of a medium-sized *chatti*.

22. Sherds of a large thick-necked pot about 18 inches in diameter made of poorly baked clay having violetish red tint. The shape could only be very roughly made out in the crushed condition. It was placed at a slightly higher level than the rest of the pottery in this region. Other crushed sherds were also present here.

23. A large pot which was probably thrown bottom downwards on the floor of the trench. The neck alone was entire and was resting on the sherds of the portions below which were imbedded in the sticky clay of the floor. Red ware.

5. I am indebted to my friend Mr. T. Balakrishnan Nayar of the Annamalai University for the reference to Frankfort's paper "Archæology and the Sumerian Problem—The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 4, 1922" where the distribution of this type of jugs is discussed. I agree with Mr. Nayar's suggestion made in a personal communication to me that the jug of the Perumal stone circles may be a survival of a very ancient Asiatic type of pottery. Further work at the site that is being done by Father Anglade will, we hope, throw some light on the linkage between Persia and India of the distant past.

Conclusion

With the data at present available it is not possible to understand the significance of these stone circles. Though the analysis of the ashes does not give any support to the assumption that these rude structures may be cremation burials, it does not actually rule out that possibility, as the soil in a well drained area cannot retain all the animal phosphates indefinitely long. A suggestion was made to the writer that the large number of pots might have been those used by an individual and buried on his death in a single trench. This is exceedingly improbable, particularly because of the fact that most of the pottery gives the impression of having been put in for some definite ceremonial purpose. The modern practice is to throw away household pottery rendered unfit for use by ritual pollution. Broken fragments in the superficial layers of the soil within the circles show that some of the pottery were actually broken prior to their burial. On comparative grounds, it seems to be not unlikely that these "stone circles" belong to the urn burial complex of Southern India.*

* I wish to express my thanks for the help received in connection with the work in the Perumal Hills to Dr. F. H. Gravely who made the preliminary survey and sent me officially to the site; to Mrs. Gravely for her hospitality during my stay at Kodaikanal; to Father Anglade who showed me the various sites and placed at my disposal not only the interesting collection in the museum attached to the Sacred Heart College, but also his wealth of knowledge concerning the antiquities of Kodaikanal; to Rev. Father Rector and Fathers Gathier, Ugarte, and Austruc of the Sacred Heart College, for the facilities and help for the excavation and their hospitality; and to Dr. S. Paramasivan for the chemical analysis of some of the antiquities.

SIVAJI AND THE MYSORE RAJ *

BY DR. M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.)

No important biography of Śivāji has attempted to give any information about his relations with the kingdom of Mysore which was at that time rising into great prominence in the Karnāṭaka. This is perhaps due to the fact that the historians of Śivāji have not been able to use original Kannada materials, some of which were published even thirty or forty years ago. The present note is confined to the last campaign of Śivāji in the Karnāṭak and attempts to show that Śivāji came into conflict with the Mysore Rāj during his return journey from South India and that Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar claimed a definite victory over Śivāji.

It is known that on his way to the south, Śivāji passed through Śrīsailam, Tiruvuṇṇāmalai and other places which were far to the east of what was then Mysore. It was during his return journey in the winter of 1676-77 A.D. that he passed through Kōlār, Balapur (i.e. Chikkaballāpur), Bangalore and other places, stayed there for short periods and then moved northwards to his own home. The story of his siege of Belavāḍi and the resistance offered by Sāvitrī Bai does not exhaust his discomfitures. He had already suffered a worse defeat. From the Mysore accounts it is clear that either he or some of his generals led an expedition into the Mysore territory in order to exact tribute and that that army suffered definite defeat. Both literary and epigraphic records support the statement.

As we know now, the Mysore Rāj came into armed conflict with the Mahrāttas in 1687 and Bangalore was taken from the latter on the 11th Aśvādha in the year Prabhava—that is in July 1687 A.D. The Seringapatam copper plates (*Epigraphia Carnāṭica*, Vol. III Seringapatam No. 14) which were issued many months before this date state that Chikkadēvarāja defeated several Mahrāttas; and

*Paper read at the History section of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference.

among them are mentioned Jaitāji and Dādōji whose limbs were dismembered and whose noses were cut. In another inscription of a later date (Seringapatam 64) more information is given and it makes definite mention of Śivāji and his defeat at the hands of the Mysore army. As a consequence of this victory Chikkadēvarāja is said to have assumed the title 'Apratimavīra'.

Some of the verses appearing in the inscription have no doubt been quoted from the Kannada work known as '*Chikkadēvarāja Binnaṇṇam*'. This work is a statement of religious faith purporting to have been made by Chikkadēva and believed to have been composed by himself. It is more probable that the work was composed for the king by his intimate friend, court-poet and minister Tirumalāya who has written some other works connected with Chikkadēvarāja. Of these works we may mention the '*Apratimavīra-carita*' some of the verses contained in which occur also in '*Chikkadēvarāja Binnaṇṇam*'.

Two interesting statements made in '*Chikkadēvarāja Binnaṇṇam*' are of value to us. One of them is a detailed account given in prose in para sixteen of the work, which says :--

"Be it well. When the Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Chikkadēva Mahārāja of great valour, the Unequalled Hero, was devoting himself to the sacred duty of ruling his empire from his lion throne at Srīrangapaṭṭaṇa and was protecting all classes of his people and particularly the Dēvas and Brāhmanās, Śivāji who had devastated, by means of plunder and guerilla war, the entire dominions of Delhi with the help of his 60,000 horses and a lakh of footmen and thus earned for himself great notoriety in Northern India, who had defeated the ruler of Vijayāpura (Bijāpur) and taken his lands and cities, who had humbled the ruler of Gōlkoṇḍa and received the tribute paid by him, suddenly entered, owing to that very pride, into the Kannada country. Then the (Mysore) king, defeating him in a cavalry fight, got his general Jaitāji Kāṭkar (elsewhere mentioned as Ghatvar or Ghātka) trodden under the hoofs of war horses, his nose, ears, throat and limbs being cut and given away to the ghosts. The head of another general Dādāji Kākade, being severed, was paraded before the crowd. Śambhūji came to be drowned in a sea of terror, while Ekkōji who came to assist him

was killed and Yasavantarao, his minister, had his nose cut. Becoming enraged with the rulers of Vijayapura and Gōlkoṇḍa for their having paid tributes to Śambhūji and also sent an army for his help, he (Chikkadēva) made Aurangzib, the great Padshāh of Delhi, to come down upon them and torment them; and through him he invaded and took away their possessions. Even those people of the Morasu, Tigula, Koḍagu and Maleyāla nāḍs, who entered, little by little, into the right and left of the Mahrātta flanks trusting in their prowess, were beaten to ruin. Thus did (the king Chikkadēva) conquer the eight regions and (rule) in peace and wisdom."

An important corroboration of Śivāji's attempt on Srīranga-
paṭṭaṇa is obtained from the contemporary records of the East India Company. In a letter written from Bombay to Surat on 24th August 1677 (*vide* extract No. 247.—'English Records on Śivāji' page 134) we find this sentence: "Sevagee is at present in the upper Carnāṭic, where he has taken the strong castles of Chengy (Gingy), Chingavore (Tanjore), Pilcundah and several others and shamefully routed the Moors and it is believed has robbed Seringapatam and carried away great riches from thence. . ."

Takakhav also mentions this advance through the Seringapatam district, though he does not mention his authority (p. 446).

Stanza four and the following in "*Chikkadēvarāja Binnapaṇam*" state as follows: "The chiefs of the Delhi and Bhāganagar areas feared that Śivāji was either Māya, Śambara, the son of Rāvaṇa, or Mārīca and brought offerings of tribute, saying 'Hail, Lord'. Having thus lost his head through pride, Śivāji attacked Mysore whose Rāja broke his pride and took the title '*Apratimavīra*'".

From the foregoing it is clear that the army of Śivāji did enter the Mysore territory and have a pitched battle with the Mysore forces. It is doubtful whether Śivāji was present at the battle. One of the several titles of Chikkadēvarāja runs as follows:—

"*Udoytta Sūratrāṇa chamū vikshōbhāṇa vicakshaṇa vikaṭa Marāja Śivāji vāji sēnādhipa Jayatūji Kūṭakura Dādāji Kākaḍa pramukha kanṭhanālōchchaladrakta-dhūrāsikta kṛipūṇa sandarāṇa vilīna Haraji Śāntaji mukhya Mahūrāshṭra nṛpa pravekanum*".

It is known that the two generals Dādāji Kākaḍe and Jaitāji Kāṭkar were at the battle among others. The latter was an important general of Śivāji as mentioned by Sabhasad². Rāmji Kākaḍe is another who is mentioned. It is not known if he was known also as Dādāji Kākaḍe. That the engagement was mainly a cavalry one and that the Mysore cavalry routed the Mahrāttas capturing the two leaders and putting them to death with insult to their corpses is a fact of considerable interest since it is the only serious defeat in a pitched battle that Śivāji suffered in the course of his southern campaign. It is possible that Śivāji was more eager to return to Satāra than to pursue his war against Mysore. His campaign proved abortive if not disastrous. In the history of the Mahrāttas this event may not be one of very great importance; but in the history of Mysore it is a point of considerable significance, since the victory scored in a pitched battle over the forces of the great Śivāji who had levied tribute from Delhi and Gōlkonda raised the self-confidence of the Mysore kings and saved their independence. Thus Chikkadēvarāja is said to have taken the title '*Apratimavīra*', the Unequalled Hero, in memory of this particular victory.

2. See No. 7 in Sabhasad's list of officers commanding large bodies of horses.

HARYAB OF IBN BATTŪTA

AND

HARIHARA NR̥PĀLA

BY DR. R. N. SALETORE

RECENTLY Mr. George M. Moraes attempted to identify a person, whom the Tangerian traveller Ibn Battūta calls Haryab, with Harihara Nr̥pāla of the Gersoppe family stating that Haryab cannot be Harihara I¹ of the Vijayanagara House as has been generally maintained². This new identification has been examined critically in the following pages.

1. Moraes, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* 15, 1939, pp. 37-42.

2. A number of writers since Fleet have accepted this view: Cf. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 180-81; Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and Empire*, pp. 87, 131; K. A. Nilakanṭha Sastri, in his book, *Foreign Notices of South India from Magasthenes to Ma Huan*, (Madras, 1939) on p. 234, says that Haryab means "of course, Harihara of Vijayanagara." The name Haryab has also been interpreted as Horiab by Samuel Lee, see his *Travels of Ibn Battūta*, p. 166 (1829). Mr. Moraes has made certain assertions in this connection, which deserve to be rectified in the interests of knowledge. - He says that "scholars since the time of Sewell have invariably identified him (Haryab) with Harihara I. p. 38." This is not so for it was Fleet, who first made this identification in 1883. See *Gazetteer of the Bombay Precy.* XV, Pt II, p. 97. Again he has stated that it was Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who was the first to make the suggestion that Harihara I, was a mabūmaṇḍaleśvara of Ballāla III. This is also unacceptable for it was Fleet who first pointed this out. See *I.A.* Vol. X, p. 63. Again] Mr. Moraes says that by the publication of the Gersoppe inscriptions in *MAR 1928* "a hitherto unknown dynasty of local chiefs was revealed." p. 40. This too is unwarranted because Rice was the first scholar who published some inscriptions of these rulers in 1904 in *E.C.* VIII, Pt. I.

In order to see what precisely Ibn Baṭṭūta states, it must be seen when and how his chronicle came to be written. This narrative of 'Abdallāh Muhammad Ibn Baṭṭūta of Tangier, to give him his full name, was "abridged from the dictation" of this Shaykh by Muhammad Ibn Juzayy, who was commanded to do so by the Caliph Ābu'Inan Fāris, who was fascinated by Ibn Baṭṭūta's travels³. Juzayy, therefore "rendered the sense of the Shaykh Ābu Abdallā's narrative in language to his purpose often reproducing without alteration his own words," and he has "reported his stories and narratives without investigating their truthfulness since he himself has authenticated them with the strongest proofs."⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūta commenced his journey from Tangier on June 14th 1325⁵ and returned to Fez, where he began his narration to Juzayy, when it is not known, and reached Dār at —Tama' after December 1353, though it is known Ibn Baṭṭūta's dictation was finished on the 9th of December 1355.⁶ Therefore, it may be concluded that all the information must have been taken down in the course of these two years.

This account of Ibn Baṭṭūta consequently suffers from some serious defects. The political condition to which he refers, especially in connection with Haryab or Hariab was in A.D. 1342, which is *nearly seventeen years after he commenced his momentous journey and eleven years before he reached Fez*. It is not at all certain whether or not he took down any notes of what he saw, but the evidence seems to be against him, for only once does he refer to notes, when he says that at Bokhara he copied a number of epitaphs from the tombs of famous scholars but he later lost them when he was stripped of all that he had possessed⁷ by Indian pirates. This could not have been of any great loss to him for he was not, like the Andulasian traveller of the twelfth century, Ibn Jubayr, a scholar. Consequently he must have relied chiefly on his memory for he is eminently, what Mr. Gibbs calls him, a *le géographe malgré*

3. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, pp. 339-431 (Gibb-1929).

4. *Ibid.* p. 41.

5. *Ibid.* p. 43.

6. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *op. cit.* p. 339.

7. *Ibid.* p. 10.

lui⁸, but even his geography is not always either reliable or sound. But the most serious defect is his chronology which has been rightly condemned to be "utterly impossible as it stands,"⁹ and the result is that several of the dates which he offers appear to have been inserted haphazard, possibly at the editor's suggestion.

Let us now see what precisely Ibn Baṭṭūta has to say about Haryab and his contemporaries. "The ruler of Hinawr (Honnāvar) is Sultan Jalāl-ad-Din, who is one of the best and most powerful sultans. *He is under the suzerainty of an infidel sultan named Haryab, of whom we shall speak later. The people of Mulaybar (Malabar) pay a fixed sum annually to the Sultan Jalāl-ad-Din, through fear of his sea-power. His army is composed of about six thousand men, horse and foot.*¹⁰" Although he does not record the month, it is certain that the year to which he refers this event is A.D. 1342, as he moved forward to this town in this year, and visited several other parts and towns of what he calls Malabar, which is another case of testing his knowledge of geography. To him Malabar and Tuḷuva or South Canara as we now call it, were the same as can be seen from his geography. "The first town in the land of Mulaybar that we entered was the town of Abū Sarūr (Barcelore-modern Basrur) a small place on a large inlet and abounding in coco-palms. Two days' journey brought us to Fākanur (Bacanor—now Bārkur), a large town on an inlet; here, there is a large quantity of sugar-canes which are unexcelled in the rest of that country. The chiefs of the Muslim community at Fākanur is Bāsādaw. He possesses about thirty warships, commanded by a Muslim called Lūlā who is an evil doer and a pirate and a robber of merchants."¹¹ From here he journeyed onwards until he came to Māṅgalore. Three days after leaving Fākanur he reached, "Manjarur (Mangalore) a large town at which most

8. *Ibid.* p. 12.

9. *Ibid* Note: Ibn Juzayy's editing itself has been questioned, and as he had specially before him Ibn Jubayr's account he often must have had recourse to his own fancies despite his confession to the contrary.

10. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *op. cit.* p. 231.

11. *Ibid.* p. 233.

of the merchants from Fārs and Yemen disembark, and pepper and ginger are exceedingly abundant there. The Sultan of Manjarur is one of the principal rulers in that land, and his name is Rāma Daw. . . .¹²

These were the local rulers in the year, it may be repeated, A.D. 1342 and now the political condition of this period deserves to be examined. The Āḷupa ruler, who ruled from Bārahakanyāpura (Bārkur) in this year was Vīra Kulaśekhara-deva and two of his inscriptions dated A.D. 1345 have been found at Niruvāra (Nīlāvāra) and at Koṭa in the Uḍipi talukas.¹³ Although these two records bear a date three years later than the year in which these events, according to Ibn Baṭṭuta took place, still, as there are no earlier inscriptions either of this ruler or of his predecessor Soyideva Āḷupendra-deva, it may be taken for granted that the former in all likelihood was the Āḷupa ruler in A.D. 1342, for it is not known whether there was an interregnum in Āḷupa history during the years 1342-45, especially as it has been shown that Soyideva Āḷupendra-deva's last year was A.D. 1335, when Vīra Kulaśekhara-deva must have succeeded him¹⁴. About this time the Āḷupa rulers were subservient to the rising Vijayanagara chieftain, for he was not yet a king, Hariyappa, (Harihara I) whose minister Gauṭarasa was ruling in Mangaḷūrapurārājya (Mangalore) in A.D. 1348.¹⁵ When exactly this minister was appointed to this post it is not known but it must have been definitely after A.D. 1340 when Harihara became the master of some of the Karnāṭaka districts¹⁶.

12. *Ibid.*

13. 496 of 1928 E.R.S.C. 1928-29, p. 58, Pillai, *Ind. Eph.*, IV, pp. 290-93. 27 of 1928-29, E.R.S.C., *Ibid.*, p. 59.

14. B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I, p. 140.

15. S.I.I. VII. No. 231, p. 117.

16. *Note*: Mr. Moraes states *op. cit.* p. 38, that " Harihara I, makes his appearance for the first time in history in 1340 from the evidence before us." This does not appear to be correct. The Bādāmi inscription to which this, reference is made (See Kielhorn, *List of inscriptions of Southern India* No. 154 I.A. X. p. 63) runs thus: *śaka varuṣa 1261 neya vikrama samvatsarada caitra śu. 1 Gu.* which corresponds to Thursday, 7th March A.D. 1342, on which day Caitra śu. 1 of the year Vikrama (S. J. 1261) commenced at 37 gh. 24 p. after mean sunrise. See A. Venkatasubbiah, *Some śaka dates in inscriptions*, p. 122. (Mysore, 1918.)

We may now turn to the other chieftains to whom Ibn Baṭṭūta refers as surviving in the year A.D. 1342. The chief of the Muslim community at Fākanur (Bārkur) was, he says, Bāsadaḡ, which is evidently a corruption of the words, Basava Deva, who must certainly have been a Hindū, for we can definitely say that Bārkur was never, during this period, under any Muslim ruler. No "Ālupa chief" named Vāsudeva ruled at Bārakuru at this time. Ibn Baṭṭūta could not have referred to Basava Deva of Candāvuru, because there is no evidence suggesting that this Basava Deva was either in or connected with Bārkur in this year. There is, however, an inscription, dated A.D. 1319 which states thus: "Vira Ballāḷa Rāya's own house minister Baiceya *daṇṇāyaka*'s brother-in-law Sankīya Sāhani, marching against Basava Deva of Candāvuru below the Ghats, (*ghaṭṭada keḷagaṇa Candāvurada Basava Devana mēle*) he destroyed Candāvuru, and marching to Muṭṭa ... was fighting, when the *mahā-sūvantādhipati*, son of both Nāyakas of Kāre, Sangiya Nāyaka, being in the Battle of the Ghats, fought with the army, destroyed the Tuḷuvas, ... and ... gained the residence of *Vaikunṭha loka*.¹⁷" As this Candāvuru is said to be below the Ghats, it could only have meant the Candāvuru not near Kāsargoḍ but the one near Sirsi now in the North Kanara District, for the epigraph clearly says that Sangiya Nāyaka, being in the Battle of the Ghats, (at Sirsi) must have naturally come down the Ghats, where this Candāvuru lies and destroyed the Tuḷuva forces of Basava Deva.

Now if it is admitted that the Candāvuru of Tuḷuva was destroyed according to epigraphic evidence, it is not possible to conclude that "Haiga ceased to form a part of the Kadamba kingdom.¹⁸" But even this claim for the Kadambas cannot be maintained because so early as A.D. 1125-26, the Śāntāra King Jayakeśi, son of Vijayāditya, is recorded as ruling over the Konkaṇa 900, Haive 500 and other provinces under the Western Cālukya ruler Vikramaditya VI¹⁹, to whom the *Sapta*

17. E C. VII, Hl. 117, pp. 178, 423.

18. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

19. J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 265; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 91. (1st ed.)

konkaṇas (which included the Haive-Haiga and other provinces) became like *kaṇkaṇas* (bracelets) in A.D. 1078.²⁰ From the Western Cālukyas and their subordinates the Śāntāras, the Sapta Konkaṇas were conquered by the Hoysaḷa ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva in A.D. 1196.²¹ From his successors the regions passed on to the Vijayanagara Empire. Therefore, there is every reason to maintain that the Hoysaḷas had a stake in Tuḷuva and a revolt like that of Basava Deva or a battle like that of Sirsi²² were of the greatest moment to them. The disparity in years (A.D. 1319 and 1342) is too great to make us believe that the Bāsadaḡ of Ibn Baṭṭŭta was the Basava Deva of Candāvuru, for he calls him the ruler of Fākanur (Bārkur). The only ruler at Bārkur in this year, as pointed out earlier, was Vira Kulaśekhara-deva who had the titles, among others, of *Arirāya Basava śaṅkara*²³ and it is not improbable that the Āḷupa ruler was not called by his

20. E.C. VII, Sk. 107, p. 79.

21. *Ibid*, VI, Tk. 42, 45 pp. 109-10, *Ibid*. Dg. 25, p. 34. It is a misunderstanding of known facts to suggest that this revolt of Basava Deva did not cause a crisis in the politics of Tuḷuva, especially to the Hoysaḷa rulers, as Viṣṇuvardhana had conquered Tuḷuva as early as A.D. 1120 (E.C. V, BI. 124, p. 81) although this did not annihilate the power of the Āḷupa King Āḷupendradeva (See Saleore, *Ancient Karnūṭaka*, I, pp. 277-78). Naturally the Hoysaḷa king was anxious to see that his power was firmly established in Tuḷuva, especially after the revolt of Basava in A.D. 1319. It is thus not at all strange that Vira Ballāḷa Deva paid a personal visit to his general Ankeya Nāyaka at Bārakuru and requested him to stay there for he did not desire that the incident of A.D. 1319 should repeat itself in A.D. 1338. Mr. Moraes's suggestion that this posting was because Vira Ballāḷa III, "very probably wished to check the aggressive activities" of the Muslim governors and officials like Jalāl-ud-Din and Loulā, is not in plausible because according to Ibn Baṭṭŭta's own confession, both of these were the subordinates of Haryab and Basadaḡ, and as such they would never have dared to rise or take any aggressive action against the Hoysaḷas who were in A.D. 1342 still the most important power. There is no evidence to show that these two Muslim officials took any action against the Hoysaḷas and that the latter were afraid of the former. Such argumentation is all a matter of probability which in historical research leads nowhere.

22. E.C. VIII, Sa. 45, p. 98.

23. See 496 of 1928-29, E.R.S.C., 1928-29, p. 58, also 506 of 1928-29.

people by his own name but by his title Basava and the surname Deva as Basava-Devaru which Ibn Baṭṭūta remembered as Bāsadow, the ruler of Bārakuru at this time.

If this is granted then who was the person whom Ibn Baṭṭūta calls Rāma Daw, which is another distortion of the Hindu name Rāma Deva, whom he calls the Sultan of Mangalore? As this town was directly under the Ālupas they might have placed over this town an official named Rāma Deva, as was their practice in the Kārkaṭa, and the Maṅgaḷuru tālukas, in A.D. 1335 and 1332.²⁴ Such a practice could not have been discouraged, for no apparent reason, seven years later.

Now we turn to the most important personality whom Ibn Baṭṭūta mentions, Haryab, who was the sultan over Jalāl-ud-Dīn. Mr. Moraes identifies this "infidel king" with Harihara *Nṛpāla* of the 'Gersoppe family.' His first reason is that, since Ibn Baṭṭūta speaks of the "twelve infidel sultans in the Moulibar land", and since the countries on either side of Haiga, in which Honnāvar is situated, are honoured with a king, *viz.* Sindabur (Cāndor-Goa) with its ruler and Tuḷuva under the Ālupa ruler already referred to, "the conclusion seems inevitable that Haryab to whom Jalāl-ud-Dīn was subject, was the ruler of Haiga."²⁵ The words of Ibn Baṭṭūta do not warrant such a conclusion at all for he says: "The ruler of Hinawr is Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn, who is one of the best and most powerful sultans. *He is under the suzerainty of an infidel sultan named Haryab*, of whom we shall speak later." From these words we can infer first, that Jalāl-ud-Dīn was the chief of Honnāvar; secondly, that he was subservient to an overlord called Haryab. Ibn Baṭṭūta does not either state or allude to the region over which Haryab ruled and to conclude that he could have meant a ruler of Haiga is inadmissible. Moreover it must be remembered that Haryab was no ordinary chief like the petty ruler of the Haiga territory, because he is definitely recorded to have been an "infidel sultan" evidently a person of greater consequence than the ruler of Haiga could ever have

25. 527 of 1928-29, *E.R.S.C.*, 1928-29, p. 59. 461 of 1928-29, *E.R.S.C.*, *Ibid.* p. 58.

25. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 40.

been. To Ibn Baṭṭūta, however, the title of "Sultan" was apparently of little significance: for Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Haryab, Rām Daw (Rāma Deva) not to mention some more, were all "sultans,"²⁶ which is historically an unacceptable fact, for none of them were sovereigns, if he meant by that term an independent ruler and, as is well-known, there were considerable differences in their status.

The next reason adduced to prove that Haryab was not Harihara I is that "it is highly probable that to this newly conquered district (of Haiga) Ballāla III appointed his veteran general, Honnarāja, the progenitor of the Gersoppe family, as governor."²⁷ Such a suggestion arises from several considerations the first among which is, that the Kadambas, after the destruction of their Yādava ally, Haripāla of Devagiri in A.D. 1318 by the Muslims, were unable to stem the tide of Hoysala conquest of the Kadamba territory. Mr. Moraes says "They nevertheless succeeded in preserving in tact their territory south of Banavāsi: but were powerless to maintain their hold on that part of the west coast, viz. Haiga, which belonged to them." Incensed at the determined resistance of their governor Basava Deva at Candāvuru below the Ghats, the Hoysalas fell on him and destroyed the town²⁸.

These statements may now be scrutinised in order to arrive at the correct state of the political situation during this period. It is impossible to conclude that, as the result of the suppression of the rebellion in Candāvuru, "Haiga ceased to form part of the Kadamba kingdom"²⁹, because, as we have already seen, since the early years of the twelfth century, Haiga had ceased to form a part of Kadamba territory. The Western Cālukyan general Kāma Deva under the Western Cālukyan King Someśvara II in A.D. 1189-90, being the viceroy over Banavāse twelve thousand, levied tribute from the Tuḷu country³⁰, which in those days included the

26. Ibn Baṭṭūta, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-233.

27. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 41.

28. *Ibid.* pp. 40-41.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 86.

Candāvuru of Basava Deva, for the Tuḷu-nāḍu then (for ages) extended right up till Ankola³¹. In view of these two epigraphs the claim of the Kadamba general Vikramāditya, placed over Banavāse *nāḍu*, by the Kadamba King Soyi Deva, the son of Boppa Deva, that in A.D. 1177 he levied tribute from the kings of Haive, Konkaṇa, Gangavāḍi and Tuḷuva³², may have been a temporary triumph for the Kadamba arms, for again in A.D. 1196, the Hoysaḷas conquered the Sapta Konkaṇas, which included Haiga³³. It was only in A.D. 1183 that the Hoysaḷa general Boppa Daṇḍādhipati brought the Malenāḍ, Tuḷunāḍ, Cōḷamaṇḍala and the territory up to Peddore into subjection under King Viṣṇuvardhana³⁴. There is no evidence that any of these lands were ever reconquered from them by the Kadambas.

Once these facts are known then it may be understood why the Hoysaḷas placed Basava Deva, the Hosagunda chief, over Candāvuru below the Ghats, because as far back as A.D. 1160 "the door of the Ghats was closed"³⁵ by King Viṣṇuvardhana, which would never have been done if this territory had been in Kadamba hands. No wonder the Kadamba monarch Kāva Deva, after his defeat in the battle of Sirsi, which was then included in Tuḷuva, failed to reconquer from the Hoysaḷas all these territories in A.D. 1300.³⁶ Another attempt again in A.D. 1303 shared the same fate.³⁷ Sixteen years later, Basava Deva dared to make one more bid for independence but in the Battle of the Ghats his rebellion was crushed with severity³⁸.

31. Saletore, *op. cit.* p. 2.

32. E.C. VIII, Sb. 384, p. 68.

33. *Ibid.* VI, Tk. 42, 45, pp. 109-10.

34. *Ibid.* V, Bl. 137 p. 91.

35. *Ibid.* II, no. 138, p. 183 (1st ed.).

36. *Ibid.* VIII, Sa. 45, p. 98. To state that Kāva Deva "concluded a defensive alliance with the Cālukyan king probably Vetugi Deva or his son Soma Deva" (*Kadamba Kula*, p. 156) is to make an imaginary claim for the inscription makes no such assertion.

37. *Ibid.* Sa. 101, p. 110.

38. *Ibid.* VII, Hl. 117, pp. 178, 423.

This Basava Deva was ruling in Candāvuru which is about five miles SE of Kumtā and not far from Sirsi, both of which were then included within the limits of Tuḷuva. Once this is understood then the expression that the "Tuḷuvas were destroyed" according to the inscription can be explained to mean only the defeat of the Tuḷuva army of Basava Deva at the hands of the Hoysaḷa general Sankiya Sāhani. Consequently to state that "Tuḷuva is here used either in a loose sense, or it means an army composed of Tuḷuva free-lances³⁹" is misunderstanding the context and the geographical condition of the times.

After such a suppression of a pro-Kadamba chieftain like Basava Deva it is impossible to believe that Vira Ballāḷa III could have appointed to this post any other than a completely Hoysaḷa general as an administrator, because he had learnt that the Kadambas were always trying to make some attempt or other in reconquering the regions they had once lost. Such attempts must have been made by the Kadambas and their adherents after the defeat of Basava Deva in this Hoysaḷa territory, and unless matters came to such a crisis, it cannot be explained why Ballāḷa III paid a personal visit to Bārakuru, where he placed his officer Ankeya Nāyaka in A.D. 1338 with these words: "Remain in Bārakuru" to which he replied: "I will stay here, Sire". This answer so pleased the king that he gave him the village of Āladahaḷḷi as a *koḷagi*⁴⁰. The fear of pro-Kadamba activity it is asserted was of much greater concern to the Hoysaḷa rulers than their fear of the "aggressive activities of Jalāl-ud-Din and Loula, and especially the latter, because his growing power was threatening to overthrow the Ālupa king, the brother-in-law and vassal of Vira Ballāḷa III.⁴¹" There is absolutely no proof in support of such a

39. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 41.

40. E.C. V. Ak. 83, p. 185; Saletore, *op. cit.* p. 292.

41. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 37.

Note: Mr Moraes refers to an epigraph of this ruler Ballāḷa III, which mentions Hariyappa Daṇṇāyaka, the brother-in-law of Mahāpradbhāna Devappa Daṇṇāyaka at Mūdubidre. "On the supposition" says Mr. Moraes "that this record was inscribed in the reign of Narasimha III. Dr. B. A. Saletore makes the year Viṣu correspond to Thursday, 9th
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contention. The statements of Ibn Baṭṭūta do not point to such a conclusion. He says that Jalāl-ud-Dīn had about six thousand men, horse and foot, and a navy, the strength of

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January 1281; from which he infers that Ballāḷa, who was still a prince at the time, was placed by his father Vira Narasimha Deva as viceroy over Tuḷuva with his headquarters at Mūḍubidre. It is, however, to be doubted if any such conclusion is justifiable." *Op. cit.* p. 39. f.n.i. Mr Moraes's reasons for such an inference are: (a) The formula "which usually implied independent position, viz. when Vira Ballāḷa was ruling the kingdom of the world is evidence enough that this record refers itself to the reign of Ballāḷa III. (b) The clause *Śrī Vira Narasimhadhinda Devarasara Kumāra Śrī Vira Ballāḷa Devarugaḷu*—means that Narasimha's son rather than prince was ruling at the time. (c) The "assertion" that Ballāḷa III was ruling as viceroy at Mūḍubidre is too far-fetched. (d) The śāsana "was issued by such and such officers of the king and others besides, in the reign of Vira Ballāḷa, the last being an insertion, which is customary in such cases." (e) The English date, given by Dr. Saletore, does not correspond to the cyclic year Viṣu, but to Vikrama.

Let us see how far all these conclusions are justifiable, by examining the original inscription itself. It runs thus: *Svasti samasta bhuvana vikhyāta soma kula tilaka Pandya maharājādhirājaṃ Parameśvaram Parama Bhāṭṭārakam Satyaratnākaram Śūraṇagata vajra pañjaram Śrī Mañ(ju)nātha devara divya Śrīpāda padmārādhakam parabalasādhakaram aṭṭa śrīmat Pandya cakravarti Arīṇya Basava Śankara Rāya Gaṇakuṣa Hulirāya Gaṇābhērūṇḍa śrīmat pratāpa cakravarti Hoysaḷa Śrī Vira Narasimhadhinda Devarasara Kumāra Śrī Ballāḷa Devarugaḷu prithuvīrājyangeyyutirāda viṣu samvatsarada makara masam 15 neya Guruvārādanu Śrīman mahāpradhana Devappa Daṇṇāyaka maiduna Hariyappa Daṇṇāyakarn (43 of 1901; S. I. I. VII, No. 213, p. 108.)* If the original is scrutinised carefully it will be patent that Mr. Moraes's conclusions fail to carry conviction with them and are unjustifiable for the following reasons.

1. Suppose, we accept Mr. Moraes's date of this record—10th January 1342—as correct, then it would mean that this inscription was issued either in the presence of Ballāḷa III or at least of his *Mahāpradhāna* Devappa Daṇḍanāyaka, who are mentioned in it, because if it were issued by Harihara Daṇḍanāyaka independently there would not have been any necessity to mention either Narasimha III or his son Ballāḷa III or even of his prime-minister Devappa Daṇḍanāyaka. Moreover this

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which he does not reveal⁴², and Loula had only thirty war-ships, but he never even once refers to any encounter or animosity between these Muslim chiefs and Ballāḷa III. Even in case they had any ill-feeling towards him what they could have done to him is purely a speculative matter which has no foundation on any historical fact.

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- record does not point to any such status of Harihara except that he was a Daṇḍanāyaka, who could not be expected to issue inscriptions in his own name.
2. Once this is accepted it follows that Ballāḷa III was either ruling there (*prithvirājyaṃ geyuttirdda*) or certainly that he was present there because this grant does not state that it was made by his *mahāpradhāna* only and grants were invariably made either by the ruling kings or with their sanction by their officers.
 3. The record clearly says that Harihara, the others and the eight respectable *setṭhis* (or heads of commercial guilds) being unanimous amongst themselves granted it (*tammōl ēkastarāgi maḍida śāsana*). From this expression it cannot be inferred either that these heads of guilds were independent, or that Harihara could independently issue inscriptions, or that even the *mahāpradhāna* could do so. The mention of the ruler Ballāḷa III conclusively shows that he was the *ipso facto* immediate sovereign at the time.
 4. If this is admitted then we may consider another inscription dated Thursday 7th February 1342 which says that Ballāḷa III was then ruling at Unnāmale (*śaka varusa 1264 neya viṣu* (engraver's error for *vr̥ṣa*) *samvatsarada Phālguna śu. 1 Gu. Śrīmat pratapa cakravarti Hoysala śrī vira Ballāḷa Devarasaru Unnāmale paṭṭaṇḍali sukha sankathāvinodadim rājyaṃ geyuttiralu*)—E. C. IX, Bn. 129, p. 31, text p. 31. Swamikanu Pillai, *Eph. Ind.* IV, p. 286. In this year it has been shown that he was moving from one capital to another (Salem, *Social and Political Life*, I, pp. 6-7), and it cannot be believed that he came to a provincial capital just to make a grant.

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42. Ibn Baṭṭūta records that near the small island between Honnāvar and Bārakur (pigeon island?) Jalāl-ud-Dīn's fleet was routed by 12 "infidel" ships. See, *Travels*, p. 265. Loula, at his best, was only a pirate, with 30 ships, under a Hindu chief, and it is incredible to think that he would have tolerated this Muslim chief to rise against a Hindu emperor of the day.

Now that a Hoysaḷa nominee was placed as a governor over the Bārakuru *rājya*, the Kadambas did not dare to make any more attempts to recover their lost domain. But still a final bid was evidently made nine years after the posting of Ankeya Nāyaka by the Hoysaḷa, Ballāḷa III in A.D. 1338. Mārappa, one of the famous brothers who were connected with the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire, according to an inscription of A.D. 1347, "while proceeding on a certain occasion, encountered the Kadamba king⁴³, surrounded like śakra, by an army, and having defeated him in battle, in order to see Śiva, the lord of Gokarṇa, the original creator of the world, came to that place of leisure."⁴⁴ From this record it cannot be inferred that this rout of the Kadamba king put an end to the suzerainty of the Kadambas over Haiga for they had entirely lost it in A.D. 1078, nor can this victory be said "to witness the beginning of Vijayanagara

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5. But it is known that since A.D. 1183 the Hoysaḷas attacked Tuḷuva and from 1184 the Bārakanuru Ghat was the western boundary of the Hoysaḷa dominion (See Saletore: *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I, p. 276; E.C. V Cm. 21-22) and since A.D. 1278 Āḷvakheḍa was the western boundary of their empire, (E. C. V. Cm. 206, Saletore, *op. cit.* pp. 280-82) there is nothing "far-fetched" in concluding that Narasimha III had placed Ballāḷa III as his viceroy over Tuḷuva with his headquarters at Mūḍubidre in A.D. 1281. We may here note that from the 9th century till the 13th and definitely till A.D. 1291 Bārakuru was the Āḷupa capital. (Saletore. *op. cit.* p. 130). Therefore Ballāḷa III could not have ruled at Bārakuru while he could surely have done so at Mūḍubidre which was within his jurisdiction.
6. That Kumāra means also a son is no discovery for such an obvious meaning has already been pointed out (See Saletore, *op. cit.* I, p. 283, l. 12). This title, it must be remembered was used only occasionally in the records of Ballāḷa III (see S. I. I. IX, pt. 1 no. 357-A.D. 1328; *ibid.* no. 359, A.D. 1340). In the first all the titles mentioned in the record under discussion are not given and in the second his *neleviḍu* is mentioned, while the usual practice is to give either the ruler's name or his complete genealogy.

43. The attempt of Moraes (*Kadamba kula*, p. 215) to identify this king with "the son or grandson of Kāma Deva," fails to carry conviction with it.

44. E.C. VIII, Sb. 375 p.

dominion in Haiga⁴⁵," for Harihara I by A.D. 1347 was already master of this territory which was once in Hoysaḷa hands. Moreover, this defeat of the Kadamba king must have been inflicted by Mārappa somewhere near Gokaṛṇa, which was also in those days within Tuḷuva⁴⁶, or else it cannot be understood how he could have come to this place of pilgrimage soon after a victory. To revert to the position of Honna in the Hoysaḷa history Mr. Moraes says that Ballāḷa III "appointed his veteran general Honnarāja," the progenitor of the Gersoppe family as governor.⁴⁷ This is an entirely imaginary statement, which has no foundation in South Indian history. It has been shown that Ballāḷa III did not conquer the province of Haive, but on the other hand, he merely punished the local Hosagunda chief, Basava Deva. There is no evidence to prove that Ballāḷa III appointed Honna over this province or that Honna was his general. But to say that Honna was the progenitor of the "Gersoppe family", (which is in itself a misnomer for this family was really the family of the Sāḷvas of Sangītapura⁴⁸) is again contrary to all known facts of history. The Bhairādevi maṇḍapa pillar inscription of Sāḷuva Malla, for example, tells us that Honnanarendra was born in the family of Sāḷuva Nāraṇāṅka Nāgaṇāṅka and other kings, thus: *Sāḷuva Nāraṇāṅka Nāgaṇāṅka naraṇatigaḷ modalūda palambararasu gaḷā rājyūdhipatigaḷāgi anukramadim pravartise tadanantaram tadvaṁśāvatāṁsarappa samyaktva cūḍāmaṇi gaḷ enisida Honnanarendrarum*.⁴⁹ In continuation of this to state that "Honna soon forgot his loyalty to his over-lord and declared himself independent⁵⁰," is to make one more supposition which cannot be proved by means of any extant record. Even assuming that he did so, it cannot

45. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 39.

46. Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka* I. p. 21.

47. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 41.

48. See my forthcoming paper on this topic.

49. *S. I. I.* VII, no. 207, p. 103.

50. Moraes, *op. cit.* p. 41.

It is incorrect to state that the real name of the queen of Ballāḷa III was Cikkāyi Tāyi for it has been clearly pointed out already by Dr. B. A. Saletore that she went by the name of Kṛṣṇāyi Tāyi. See *Ancient Karnāṭaka*. I. pp. 287-8.

again be maintained that he became independent in A.D. 1328⁵¹, as will be shown presently. He cannot be identified with his namesake Ponna, who is referred to in an epigraph of A.D. 1318 because we do not know whether the latter had a brother (*anuja*) called Kāma, who was the minister of Ballāḷa III while it is well-known that Sāluva Honna had a nephew of that name who succeeded him⁵².

This Honna is said to have "declared himself independent . . . probably in the year 1328."⁵³ The reasons for this assertion are that there is a disjointed epigraph in which mention is made of Honna Nṛpāla and a *śrīmān mahapradhāna (maha) maṇḍaleśvara Honniyarasa*⁵⁴, and that the Hoysaḷa Emperor Vīra Ballāḷa III was in "a cowed condition" in this year. But there is no evidence to prove that Honna was independent in A.D. 1328, for if we take the term *nṛpāla* to mean any indication of his kingly status, then the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Honniyarasa just because he is called *arasa* (king) may also be considered to have had the same status as that of Honna if Honna was ever independent. What is more important, the word *nṛpāla* does not mean only a king: it also connotes nobility and feudal status⁵⁵. To state that Honna declared his independence just because Vīra Ballāḷa was in a cowed condition on the basis of the following epigraph is to make a blunder in research. The inscription says: "In A.D. 1328 Vīra Ganga the *pratāpa cakravarti* Hoysaṇa Yalalaparasa was ruling the kingdom of the Punnāḍ Seventy nāḍ in peace and wisdom." The minister Yenapaya apparently then made a grant for the god Varāhadeśvara⁵⁶. To identify this Yalalaparasa with the Hoysaḷa Emperor Vīra Ballāḷa III is strange

51. Cf. E.C. V. Ak. 113, p. 161. text p. 369.

52. S. I. I. op. cit. no. 202. p. 96.

53. Moraes, op. cit. p. 41. This conclusion is based on Ak. 31 (E.C. V. p. 121) which places this event of the Turuka invasion at Goravanakallu not in A.D. 1328 as Mr. Moraes states but in A.D. 1331. See the text p. 279: *Jayābhudayas ca śaka varuṣa 1253 neya Prūjotpatti samvatsarada vaiśakha ba 7 so . . .*

54. Ibid. f.n. 3.

55. See Kittel, *Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 899.

56. E.C. IX, Db. 38. p. 67, text p. 83.

and to infer that Vīra Ballāḷa's rule consequently was confined to the Punnād. Seventy passes one's comprehension. If that were so, how can we explain the existence of Vīra Ballāḷa's inscriptions from A.D. 1333 down to 1342 in Bārakuru, Niruvāra (Nilāvāra) and Bailuru in Tuḷuva⁵⁷, and Dāvāngere, Hoskōṭe Goribiḍnur, Kolar, Kṛṣṇarajapet, Arsikere, Mālur, Cintamani, Bowringpet, Cikka-Ballāpura and Bangalore in Mysore⁵⁸?

In the family of this Honna says Mr. Moraes came Harihara Nṛpāla, who must be identified with the Haryab of Ibn Baṭṭūta. Let us see how far this statement can be accepted, for he evidently bases all his conclusions on the record in M. A. R. 1928 which runs thus recording the death of Śāntaḷa Devi :

*Honnaṇṛpa arthiḥjanāvana kalpavṛkṣaṇum Honnamahikan ātmajeyu Māliyaḇarasige Kūmarājagam sannuta mūrti Honnanṛpan ātma sa bāndhava Mangarājanum manmatharūpa Hariharanṛpūlakan ūtana putra Haivaṇarasange manahpriyanganeyu Śāntaḷa Devi samūdhikādoḷu*⁵⁹. From this we learn that the daughter of Honna was Māliyaḇbarasi. Now according to other inscriptions Kūmanṛpa was the aḷiya of Honna. From this record, however, it is clear that Honna's daughter Māliyaḇbarasi married Kāma who, of course, succeeded him. This Kāma was followed by his younger brother (*anuja*) Manga-bhūtilaka as he is styled in an inscription⁶⁰. If the qualifying term *ātma sabāndhava* is to be referred both to Mangarāja and Harihara, it follows that

57. 492 of 1928-29, ERSC for 1928-29, p. 54, 493 of 1928-29, p. 54, 122 of 190.

58. Cf. E.C. IX, Ma 19, p. 53, Ht. 75 p. 96, Dv. 46, p. 79; Bg. 111, p. 22 etc. Note : To confine the supremacy of Ballāḷa III to Punnād. Seventy from Db. 38 of A.D. 1328 is untenable. After the Muslim invasion of Dorasamudra in A.D. 1310, he was evidently moving from place to place. In 1328 he is said to have been residing at Unṇāmale (E.C. XI, Cd. 4, p. 3), in 1330 at Virupākṣapaṭṭana (*Ibid.* V. Ak 66 p. 135), in A.D. 1333 he was ruling the earth (*Ibid.* X, Mr. 28, p. 163) and from this year till 1343 records refer to his influence at Kaivāranāḍu, Tollanapaḷḷi in the Iḷadanji nāḍu, Puliyur Nāḍu and Tekkal (See E. C. X, Ct. 53, p. 253. *Ibid.* Bp. 10, p. 137; *Ibid.* Mr. 82, p. 175. Mr. 16, p. 160).

59. MAR. 1928, no. 110, p. 99.

60. S. I. I. VII, no. 202, p. 96.

the latter is the third *nephew* of Honna, and *not* the son of Kāma as Mr. Moraes seems to believe.

Now the point is, did this Harihara ever rule at all? The record referring to Śāntaḷa Devi's death merely refers to him as Harihara Nṛpāla, and does not allude to his rule. Merely to state that because he is called *nṛpāla* or is mentioned along with those who ruled does not entitle him to that claim. Now we know from other sources that the nephew of Mangarasa was Haivaṇṇrasa, but *the succession did not go to Harihara*, who could have succeeded according to the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu*, which, as was pointed out last year again⁶¹, was prevalent among the Sāluvas of Sangitapura. The Muḍubidre Hosabasti inscription of Bhairava rāya, dated śaka 1351, viz. A.D. 1429, tell us the following; ... *Kali Honnabhūpag ād aḷiyan udūramēruvara Kūmanṛpaṅg anujam Mangabhūtilakan agaṇyaṇya nīdhig ād aḷiyam nūta Haivabhūvaram Bhūminūta Haivaṇṇpaṅgam prēmada jūmāṭṭṛ Mangarājadhareṣaṅg ī mahiyōl aḷiyan enipam Sōmāmsūyaśah prabhūsi Keṣavarājam*⁶². From this we know definitely that the succession among the Sāluvas of Sangitapura was by the matriarchal system; viz. in the sense that the *aḷiya*, who was always the heir to the throne, was a nephew, and not necessarily a son-in-law. When, however, a son-in-law succeeded he is distinctly called a *prēmada-jūmāṭṭṛ* and when a younger brother ascended the throne he was styled *anuja*. Now according to the *aḷiya santāna kaṭṭu*, if a person has one younger brother the right of succession goes first to his younger brother and after his death, not to his descendants, but to his younger sister's son.

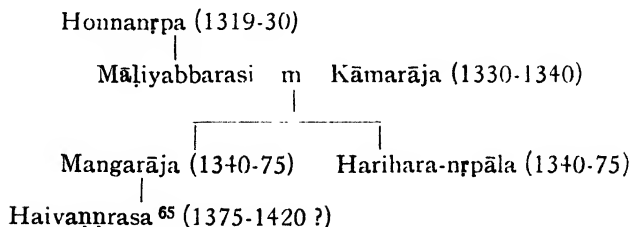
Therefore according to the Muḍubidre Hosabasti record and the inscription, No. 110 of M. A. R. Honna's *aḷiya* (nephew) viz. son-in-law, was Kāma, having married his daughter Māliyaḅbarasi, and he succeeded him. After Kāma, his successor was his younger brother (*anuja*) Manga I, who was followed by his *aḷiya*, viz. nephew, his sister's son Haiva, whose son-in-law (*prēmada-jūmāṭṭṛ*) was

61. Cf. Saletore, The Jaina Antiquary, IV, no. 1. p. 12.

62. S. I. I. VII. no. 202. p. 97.

Manga II. This can again be confirmed by the undated pillar inscription in the Bhairadevi Maṇṭapa of the Hosabasti at Mūḍubidre, pertaining to the reign of Sāluva Malla. It says "*Samyaktva cūḍāmaṇiḡaḷ enisida Honnanarendrarum sanmūrga niratarumappa Kāmanṛpūlarum sadūcūrasāmpannarumappa Mūvara-sabhūvararum Jinapūjapurandararumappa Haivarājendrarum dānaśreyāmsarumappa sapṭamahīpūlarum suguṇabharaṇabhūṣitarumappa Keśavarūyarum*."⁶³ From these independent records of different periods the inevitable conclusion is that after Mangarāja his aṣṭiya succeeded him and not Harihara. There is no evidence to prove that Harihara Nṛpāla ever ruled and least of all along with his elder brother Manga. It is impossible to suggest any case of joint-rule⁶⁴ especially in the aṣṭiya *santana kaṭṭu* and that too in this family, for such a contention cannot be proved.

Now let us look to the chronological aspect of the whole question and see whether the chronology suggested to these rulers is acceptable. Mr. Moraes gives us a chronology of which he is not sure based as it is on inscriptions nos. 105, 108 and 110 of *M. A. R.* 1928 and according to him the dates are as follows :

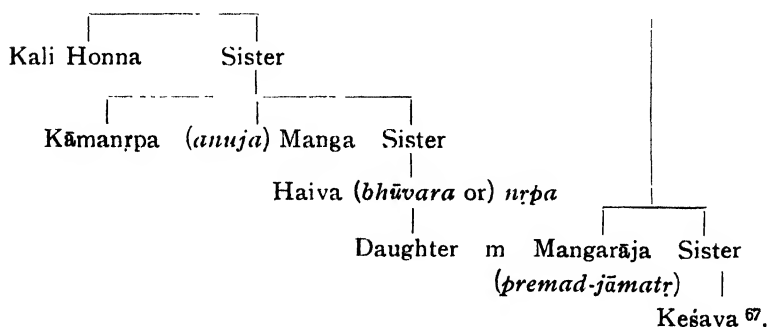


63. *S. I. I.* VII, no. 207, p. 103. *Note* : Mūva referred to in this inscription is to be identified with Manga who is spoken of in inscriptions no. 202 *S. I. I.* VII, p. 97 and no. 110 of *M. A. R.* 1928, p. 99.

64. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

65. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 42 : Mr. Moraes bases his entire chronology on three inscriptions nos. 105, 108, 110 : the first dated 8th January 1421 refers to Padmaṇṇarasa ; the second is one the date of which is not verifiable as it only says : śaka kālā sāviraḍa munnūra the remaining six lines being undecipherable. *MAR*, 1928, p. 97. The date of the third cannot be verified : *MAR*, 1928, p. 99.

Not only is this genealogy incorrect but as will be shown presently even the dates assigned are unacceptable. The first step in the genealogy of this family may be obtained as follows from the undated Bhairādevi maṇṭapa pillar inscription of the Hosabasti at Mūḍubidre according to which this was the descent: Sāḷuva Nāraṇānka Nāgaṇānka—... Honna-Kāmanṛpāla-Māvarasa-Haivarājendra-Saptamahipāla-Keśavarāya⁶⁶. The Gaddige maṇṭapa inscription of Hosabasti at Mūḍubidre, dated A.D. 1429, clarifies the regular order of succession thus:



From these two records we may arrive at the following identifications:

Kali-Honna—Honna

Kāmanṛpāla—Kāmanṛpa the *aḷiya* of Honna.

Māvarasa—Māva-Uncle Manga I who was the *anuja* (younger brother) of—Kāmanṛpa, the uncle of Haivarājendra.

Haivarājendra—Haivanṛpa, the *aḷiya* of Manga I.

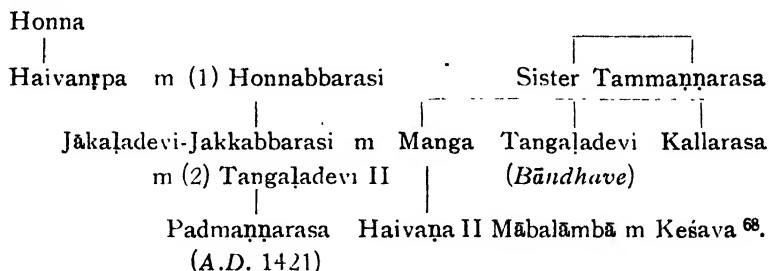
Saptamahipāla—Mangarāja II who was the *premada-jāmatṛ* of Haivanṛpa.

Keśava—Keśava, the *aḷiya* of Mangarāja II.

66. S.I.I. VII, no. 202.

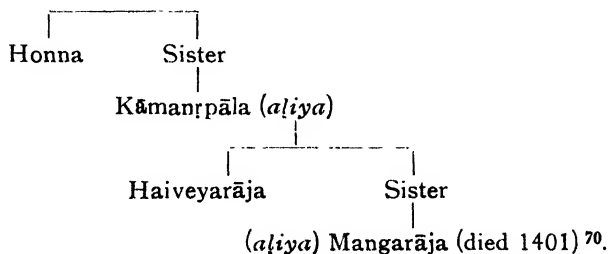
67. *Ibid.* no. 207.

The Nagarakeri-basti inscription at Gersoppe gives us further points of contact in the relationships of this family :



The Haivanṛpa, Manga and Keśava mentioned in this record are to be clearly identified with the Haivarājendra or Haivanṛpa (I), Mangarāja II and the latter's nephew Keśava mentioned in the Mūḍubidre Hosabasti inscriptions⁶⁹.

The Jvālāmukhi temple inscription of Gersoppe gives the following genealogy, but the epigraph is too damaged to give a full account :



Now from inscriptions nos. 202 and 207 (*S.I.I.* VII) we know that Honna's *aṭiya* (nephew) was Kāmanṛpāla but from no. 110 of the *M.A.R.* 1928 we also learn that Honna's daughter Māliyaḥbarasi wedded Kāmanṛpa. Such a relationship is permitted by the custom of *sōdarike*. A second instance of *sōdarike* is that of Mangarāja II, who is called the *aṭiya* of Haiveyarāja²¹. But from three records we know for certain that he was the son-in-law of

68. *M.A.R.* 1928, no. 195, pp. 93-94.

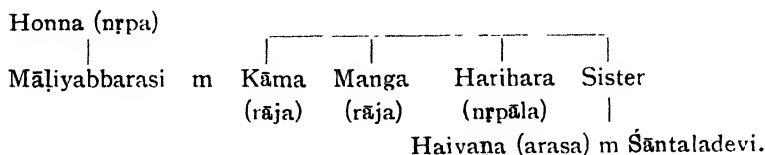
69. S.I.I. VII, nos. 102, 207.

70. *M.A.R.* 1928, no. 111, p. 100.

71. *Ibid.*

Haiveyarāja⁷². The initial date in Sāluva history is the date of the death of Manga in A.D. 1401, and we have identified this ruler as Mangarāja II because he is called the son-in-law of Haiveyarāja, while Manga I bore no such relationship.

A still earlier date in this period is available. According to Dr. Shama Sastry, the death of Śāntaladevi, the wife of Haivaṇṇarasa, took place on 31st January, Saturday, 1405⁷³. Now this record gives the names of the rulers thus :



The word *putra* applied to Haivaṇṇarasa is to be understood not as a son but as a successor or a nephew, as in the *āḷiya santāna kaṭṭu* the son had no right of succession. The order of descent in this record more or less agrees with that given in nos. 202 and 207 in S.I.I. VII. Even supposing Haivaṇa was the son of Harihara, which of course he could never have been, the chronological context is understood.

But the question is, did Śāntaladevi die in A.D. 1405? Since the record is dated in the cyclic year, there is no doubt some plausibility of its having been dated in A.D. 1405. Against this it must be remembered that as Manga II died in A.D. 1401, there does not seem to be much difference between his age and that of his parents-in-law, one of whom, according to Dr. Shama Sastry, died four years earlier. This however does not seem probable. As the inscription no. 110 (M.A.R. 1928) gives the names of the kings as Honna, Kāma, Manga, Harihara and Haivaṇa, the death of Haivaṇa's queen must have apparently taken place earlier than that of his son-in-law, Manga II, who died in A.D. 1401. This epigraph clearly says that she was the queen of Haivaṇṇarasa (*manahpriyāṅaneyu*) which implies that Haivaṇṇarasa must have

72. S.I.I. VII, nos. 202, 207 M.A.R. 1928, no. 105.

73. M.A.R. ; 1928, no. 110, pp. 99, 118.

been alive when she died and that she was the queen at this time. She could not have reigned as queen in this year especially when her son-in-law had died four years earlier. This would mean that she survived him by four years. This is impossible because according to the *āliya santāna kaṭṭu* the mother-in-law did not succeed her husband's nephew (*āliya*). All these circumstances point to an earlier date of her death which seems to have taken place on the 4th Friday, February 1345⁷⁴, a year only in which the year Tāraṇa referred to in the inscription recording her death, appears. Therefore to have been the mother of a daughter who could marry Manga II, she must have been at least 20 years old. This would mean that she was alive between the years A.D. 1325 and 1345, a period during which her husband Haivaṇṇarasa must have been alive as a ruler as well.

Allotting roughly a period of 25 years to each ruler we have :

(a) If Harihara was ruling : (b) If Harihara was not alive :

Honna	1225-50.	Honna	1250-75.
Kāma	1250-75.	Kāma	1275-1300.
Manga I	1275-1300.	Manga I	1300-25.
Harihara	1300-25.	...	
Haivaṇa	1325-45.	Haivaṇa	1325-45.
Manga II	1345-1401.	Manga II	1345-1401.

From this chronological table it would mean that during the year of Ibn Baṭṭūta's visit to the west coast, Haivaṇṇarasa was the ruler of Haive and Harihara *nr̥pāla*, who even if he reigned at all must have done so about A.D. 1300-25.

Now did Harihara *nr̥pāla* ever rule at all ? The only inscription which refers to him calls him "*manmatharūpa* Harihara-*nr̥pāla*"⁷⁵ and this qualifying epithet evidently alludes either to his

74. *M.A.R.* 1928, no. 110, p. 99 ; Pattenṭu dina doḷu saṇḍaḷu vara-vatsara Tāraṇadoḷu suruḍira phālguṇada śuddha pādīva tithiyol Haridāśva dinadi Sāntakkarasiyu svargasthaḷādaḷ. Swamikannu, *Indian Ephemeris*, IV, p. 292.

75. Cf. Raṭṭa Kandarpa as applied to Amoghavarśa II ; *I.A.*, XII, p. 249 : Āltekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 106.

youth or to his good looks. Just on the strength of this inscription it may be contended that he did rule but no other records, either of his predecessors or of his successors which confirm, supplement and elucidate the family relations of his ancestors, ever refer to him. We have at least one epigraph for his elder brother Manga I and two inscriptions for his successor Haivaṇṇarasa, but no exclusive record for Harihara himself. Therefore most probably he did not rule at all and even if he did, his reign falls outside the year of Ibn Baṭṭūta's visit to the west coast in 1342. Consequently the Haryab of Ibn Baṭṭūta's day can never be identified with the Harihara *nṛpāla* of the family of the Sāluvas of Sangitapura.

Even the name Haryab, not to mention his title *nṛpāla*, cannot support Mr. Moraes's identification. The name Haryab, which is only a corruption of the word Hariyappa, appa or apa becoming ab, was never either the name or the title of Harihara *nṛpāla*. The variants Haryab, Harib, or Horiab are clearly corruptions of the word Hariappa but certainly not of Harihara. It may be said that because he is styled *nṛpāla* he must have ruled but even this leads us nowhere. Harihara was like Padmaṇṇa, the son of Haivaṇṇa, a prince and the titles given to them were courtesy titles. If it is contended that Harihara on account of his title reigned, then the same may said of Padmaṇṇarasa as well but the latter never ruled at all.

In conclusion therefore from all points of view the identification that Haryab was Harihara *nṛpāla* can never be accepted.

NARASIMHAKAVI AND HIS WORKS

BY M. P. L. SASTRY, M.A.

NARASIMHAKAVI is a great poet of the eighteenth century in Mysore. He was patronised by Karāchūri Nanjarājayya who was the minister of Mysore at the time. Immadi Krishnarāja Wadiyar was the nominal ruler of the country between the years 1734 and 1766, but the administration was entirely in the hands of Nanjarāja. He belonged to the royal family of Kalale. The princes of Kalale enjoyed the Dalvoy and Sarvādhikāri posts in Mysore by hereditary right, the friendship between the princes and the Mysore Rājas being developed from 1610, when Seringapatam was conquered from the Vijayanagara rulers and incorporated in the Mysore kingdom. In the time of Immadi Krishnarāja Wadiyar, Dēvarāja and Nanjarāja, thus held the posts of the Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister respectively. Nanjarāja had given his daughter in marriage to Krishnarāja Wadiyar II.

This Nanjarāja led successful expeditions against many neighbouring kings, won a number of battles, and annexed various small and big provinces to the State. For about twenty years from 1739-1759, Nanjarāja was very powerful and happy. He had a brilliant and glorious career. He wielded much influence in and outside the country. In short, he was the virtual ruler of Mysore at the time. It is during this period that Narasimhakavi lived. He was patronised by Nanjarāja.

Narasimhakavi belongs to the Sanagara¹ class of Mulakanādu Brahmins who came to Mysore from the bordering districts of the Hyderabad State four centuries ago. His father was one Śivarāma who was well versed in all the six branches of philosophy and was.

1. सनगरकुलेन्दोर्नरसिंहाभिधविदुषः

(Nanjarājajayasōbhūṣana p. 87)

himself a great poet². He had a Guru, a saṃnyasin by name Yōgānanda³. He seems to have learnt under his father⁴ who was a pious and learned scholar and then under Perumāḷ whom Nārasimha calls प्रद्योतन among scholars. He mentions his elder brother Subrahmanya⁵ and a friend Tirumalakavi⁶.

He has written three books dealing with three different aspects of literary technique. He has written Śivadayāsahasra, a Kāvya; Chandrakalāparinaya, a Nāṭaka, and Nanjarājayaśōbhūśana, a work on Alankāra.

A brief review of these will be made here.

1. *Śivadayāsahasra* is an unpublished Kāvya describing the great compassion of Lord Śiva, as is suggested by the title itself. Two copies of the work are available at present. One is in the Manuscripts Library, Mysore (B. 742) and the other is with me. My copy is fuller and contains fewer mistakes. The work is divided into ten Śatakās. It begins with a salutation to the father of the poet.

जयन्ति जगदानन्द मन्दारोदय हेतवः ।

शिवरामगुरोरंघ्रिनखेन्दुकिरणांकुराः ॥

His respect to Vālmiki and Kālidāsa is expressed in the stanza,

वर्तन्तेहि महान्त एव कवयो वल्मीकजन्मादय

स्तेभ्यस्संप्रति चेतसैव रचयाम्येभ्यः प्रणामांजलिम् ।

वाग्देवीपुरुषावतारयशसः श्रीकालिदासस्य चे

द्वीटीचेट इति प्रतिक्षणमसौ वीधीष्वहं घोषये ॥

2. षड्दर्शिनीपारीण शिवरामसूरि

3. योगानन्दयतीन्द्राय सान्द्राय गुरवेनमः

Ibid. page 1

4. शिवरामदेशिकचरणारविन्दानुसंधानसमासादित, etc.

Ibid. 223

5. सुब्रह्मण्यं तमग्रजं प्रणुमः

(7th stanza in the *Śivadayāsahasra*)

6. आलूर तिरुमलकवेः

(P. 223. N. R.)

The poet is a devotee of Śiva. He begins the work with the following stanzas :—

ईडेतामिन्दुचूडाल करुणामतिशीतलाम् ।
 ययाद्रमक्षिभजने दक्षिणं चापि वामताम् ॥
 स्तुमस्तामैशानीं प्रथममनुकम्पां भगवतीम् ।
 गुणश्रेण्यां सत्यामपि गुरुतरायां गुहगुरोः ॥
 जगन्मातुस्तादृग्गुणपरिमळ्यास्त्रिजगताम् ।
 यदात्मत्वं किञ्चित्पदघटितमाख्याति गुरुताम् ॥

At the end of each century we find stanzas of the type.

अधिस्व करुणां मया विरचितंच पथात्मकम्
 शतंदश समुल्लसध्वनिपरंपरागुम्भितम् ॥
 पुनः पुन रदंमुदे मदुपनीत रत्नाञ्जलि
 श्रियं वहतु धूर्जटेश्चरणपद्मयोस्तादृशाः ॥

The language employed here is charming, simple, graceful. The poet has described the various aspects of the mercy of Lord Śiva beautifully.

2. *Chandrakalākalyāṇa* is a drama in five acts describing the marriage of Chandrakalā. The hero of the drama is Nanjarāja. This drama seems to have been enacted during the वसन्तोत्सव (Vasantōtsava) celebrated annually in honour of Lord Śiva at Nanjangud on the banks of the River Kapilā. This is evident from the talk of the Sūtradhāra.

कर्पिलातट विलास विविध विभव सरल :
 गरलनगराभरणायमानस्य भगवतोर्गरलपुरीश्वरस्य वसन्तोत्सवे
 समादिष्टोऽस्मि

सरसकवीनां पुरतो गणनीयस्यास्य सनगरकुलेन्दोः ।
 नरसिंहाभिधविदुषः कृतिरियमभिनीय दर्शनीयेति ॥

This drama received the praise of a great scholar, Kaśipati,* the author of *Mukundānandabhāna*⁷ and the writer of *Śravaṇa-nandini*⁸, a commentary on *Sangitagangādhara*⁹.

The late Mr. Seshagiri Sastri of the Madras Manuscripts Library suggested in his Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil manuscripts for the year 1896-97 that the author of this work might be the same as the author of the *Nanjarājayaśōbbhūśana*. A palm leaf manuscript in Telugu characters is found in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. 12515). The drama commences with a द्वादशपदा नान्दी invoking Lord Śiva.

पार्वत्याः प्रणयप्रसन्नमनसः प्रीतिं प्रसूतेतराम्
देवोयः श्वशुरैकमित्रमचलं चापात्मना मानयन् ॥
दत्ते चन्द्रकलानुरञ्जनधिया सिन्धुं निर्धंगंचरः
सः श्रीकान्तशरः शुभाय भवतू तुङ्गाय गङ्गाधरः ॥

The Sūtradhāra suggests the name of the play in the following verse :—

कानाम् मूर्ध्ना विदधेहरेण किं वा मनोरञ्जयते जनानाम् ॥
पारिपार्श्वकः ।..... चन्द्रकलाकल्याणमिति

After the prelude there is a शुद्धविष्कम्भक where the two bards are made to talk about the movements of the king. One of them says that the king has approached the precincts of Kakudgiri (Śivaganga) for hunt, encouraged by Virasena, his army chief. Immediately appears the king riding on the horse back followed by a servant. He takes mercy upon the poor animal at which he had aimed, and withdraws the arrow.

मत्कोदण्ड कठोरशिञ्जितरवत्रस्तैः कुरङ्गैः समम्
भूयस्त्वेदगणावकीर्णं वदनग्रस्तार्धं दूर्वाङ्कुरः ॥

* Vide My article on *Mukundānandabhāna* and its author in the New Indian Antiquary Vol. IV, no. 4.

7. Printed in Bombay and Madras.

8. Tailor I 86 (No. 1116) Manuscript is available in the Mysore Manuscripts-Library.

9. A Sanskrit work written by Nanjarāja.

धावन्तीः कृतिचित्पदानि कथमप्यापूर्णगर्भालसाः
सारङ्गीरथ पश्यतः करुणयाचितं मयाद्रौकृतम् ॥

Then he moves towards नूतनपुर (Hosur).

Meanwhile he sees a beautiful maiden चन्द्रकला (Chandrakalā) daughter of Ratnākara, the Kuntala king. He is smitten with love and narrates his miserable position to his friend Vidūṣaka. Chandrakalā returns the love and they become absorbed in each other. The course of love is made smooth by a dream experienced by Ratnākara wherein it was suggested to him that he should offer his daughter to Nanjarāja. Ratnākara acted on this and arranged for a Svayamvara.

The Svayamvara is thus described :

अम्बां विभाव्य कुलदैवतमिष्टसिधौ
नत्वा शर्ची तदनु कुन्तलराजकन्या ॥
तेषां ततिष्वपिगता दयितं वरीतुम्
माकन्दपङ्क्तिषु यथा मधुमासलक्ष्मीः ॥

ज्योत्स्नेव कैरव वनेषु सरोजराजि
ष्वामत्तहंसतरुणीव धनव्रजेषु ॥
विद्युलतेव नृपपङ्क्तिषु साचरन्ती
चान्द्राकलेव भुवि चन्द्रकला व्यकासीत् ॥

The work ends with the following Bharatavākya :—

वाणीयं भुवि वर्धतां बुधजनश्लाघ्या त्रिलोकी जुषाम् .
सौभाग्यैकनिकेतनश्च शशिनोर्वशः सदा वर्धताम् ॥
देवश्चन्द्रकलाधरश्च दयया निर्व्याजमाप्यायितो
नित्यं नल्लमहीमहेन्द्र हृदयेवासं विधत्तां मुदा ॥

The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family and other works that deal with the history of the times do not mention anything about the marriage of Sarvādhikāri Nanjarāja with the Kuntala princess, Candrakalā. This is a matter which requires careful study and examination.

Most of the portions of the drama are incorporated in the sixth chapter of (nāṭaka prakarṇa) the Nanjarājayaśōbhūśana as illustrations for various definitions and terms pertaining to Nāṭaka proper.

3. *Nanjarājayaśōbhūśana*

This is another work of Narasimhakavi, which deals with the science of rhetoric. This is similar to the Pratāparudra Yaśōbhūśana¹⁰ of Vidyānātha. The work is published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as No. XLVII. The great qualities of Nanjarāja are described here by the poet. नञ्जराज गुणग्रामैर्भूषितं भुविदीव्यतु । (4th stanza in the introductory chapter). Illustrations for various forms of Alankāra are quoted in the work. Most of the illustrations come from the hands of the author himself. The work throws great light on Nanjarāja and other contemporary celebrities.

The style and the method adopted by Narasimhakavi in this work are generally on the lines of Vidyānātha. Certain sentences and passages are introduced here from the Pratāparudriya *verbatim*. Though the author of the Nanjarājayaśōbhūśana has followed the same method in dealing with the various problems on Alankāra, he differs from Vidyānātha and other previous writers on certain important points. For example Vidyānātha cites that there are only 51 pure Dhvanis, but Narasimhakavi mentions them to be 96. The book deals with the following six topics in seven ullāsas.

नायकनिरूपण	I Chapter.
काव्यनिरूपण	II „
ध्वनिरूपण	III „

10. Published in Bombay Sanskrit series as No. LXV in 1909.

रत्ननिरूपण	IV and V Chapters. .
नाटकप्रकरण	VI Chapter.
अलङ्कारप्रकरण	VII ,,

In the Nāṭaka prakaraṇa of the work, a number of places in and outside Mysore are described.

The following are the closing stanzas of the work.

संक्षोभ्यतां मतिधनैर्मम तु प्रवन्धो
नान्योदत्र मधुरा बहवः पदार्थाः ॥
आलोढ्यतेहि विबुधैर्विमलः पयोधि
नान्योवितोर्ण कमलामणि कल्पभूजः ॥

आचन्द्रतारमखिलामर मञ्जुवाणो
पुञ्जेन वर्णित गुणानि भवद्यशांसि ॥
नञ्जक्षितीन्द्र नयमार्गविधूततन्त्र
भूयोजयन्तु भुवनानिचिरंजयन्तु ॥

वाणीयं भुविवर्धतां बुधजनश्लाघ्या त्रिलोकी जुषाम
सौभाग्यैकनिकेतनं च शशिनोर्विशः सदावर्धताम् ॥
देवश्चन्द्रकलाधरश्च दयया निर्व्याजमाप्यारयितो
नित्यं नञ्जमहीमहेन्द्र हृदये वासं विधत्तां मुदा ॥

आलस्य तिरुमलकवेरभिनवभवभूति विरुदस्य ।
सुहृदा नृसिंह कविना कृतिरकृत नवीन कालिदासेन ॥

करुणारस कल्लोल कलितापाङ्ग वीक्षणम् ।
कन्दर्पजनकं धाम कल्याणानि करोतु नः ॥

A study of these works will reveal that Naraṣimhakavi was a poet of great merit that adorned the Mysore court. His works are of a high order and they throw great light on the history of Mysore of the eighteenth century.

HAIDAR ĀLI AND THE FIRST MAHRĀTTA WAR

1779-1782 A.D.

BY V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, M.A., B.T.

NANA FADNIS, the *de facto* head of all Mahārāṣṭra, organised in the year 1779 A.D. a confederacy of all the States in India to expel the English out of the country¹. The Nizam had already sounded the opinion of the Mahrāttas for a similar objective². Nana resolved upon utilising the universal distrust of the British by the native powers, by starting a ground offensive alliance against the East India Company. With the approval of Mahādaji Sindhia, Nana sent out his trusted counsellors to the different courts of India, during the October of 1779 A.D. Krishna Rao Kale was despatched to the court of Hyderabad, Devajipant to Nagapore and Krishna Rao Narayan to the court of Mysore. Chait Singh of Benares had been already won over by Nana. The Mughal Emperor blessed the whole enterprise and urged on the allies the need for checking the inordinate ambition of the English. Even the Dutch and the Portuguese were in sympathy with the scheme of the allies³.

Of all his Indian allies, Nana felt that Haidar Āli alone was worth all the rest put together⁴. The Mysore Tiger had already proved his mettle in many a contest against the English, often to the great disadvantage of the latter. Yet there was a decade of rivalry between the two powers to be reckoned with. Both were

1. Oxford History of India. V. A. Smith.

2. A History of the Marāṭhas, Grant Duff. Vol. II. Cal. Pers. Corr. Vol. V ; P. VI.

3. Marāṭhi Riyāsat, Vol. VII p. 291: p. 129. By G. S. Sardesai and Selections from Bombay Secretariat Marāṭha Series, Vol. I P. XII.

4. Historical Papers relating to Mahādaji Sindhia, Government of Gwalior, 1938, p. 61.

mutually suspicious of each other. Yet the past must be obliterated and the two rivals must unite against a common foe. The miracle happened. Haidar Āli agreed to a treaty with Nana Fadnis, hoping to secure thereby his own aggrandisement as the ruler of the whole of the Deccan.

Haidar's ardent ambition was to become the Subhadar of the Deccan to the exclusion of the Nizam Āli⁵. Soon he secured his aim by the receipt of a *firman* from the Emperor of Delhi conferring on him the title of Sir Subhadar of the Deccan. His correspondence with the emperor fell into the hands of Mahadaji and caused him great uneasiness⁶. This Mughal grant of the subhadarship of the Deccan was the chief justification for Haidar's claiming annual tribute from the ruler of Arcot, who had sought the English help against the claims of the Mysore ruler. Hence the hostility of Haidar towards the English Government of Madras.

The suggestion of Nana Fadnis for an offensive alliance came to Haidar at an opportune moment. The unhappy past was forgotten, and Haidar eagerly welcomed the plan of checkmating the English. The actual terms of the secret treaty between the two parties have not been forthcoming till very recently; and books on the subject had been misled by Grant Duff, the historian of the Mahrāttas. Says he: "To Hyder Āli Nana conceded territories south of the River Krishna and the future tribute was fixed at eleven lakhs of rupees.⁷" But thanks to the publication of "The Historical Papers relating to Mahadaji Sindhia" by the Government of Gwalior, new light has been thrown on the correct versions of the treaty⁸.

In his letter to Poona, Sadashiva Dinkar, the Mahrātta resident at the court of Sindhia gives a summary of the terms of the original treaty; and the later proposals from Haidar Āli for

5. *Ibid.* Marāṭhi Riyāsat, Vol. VII, p. 291.

6. *Ibid.*

7. A Hist. of the Mar: Grant Duff. Vol. II, p. 130.

A Hist. of the Mar: Kincaid Paradnis. Vol. III, p. 134.

Mysore Gazetteer: Revised, Vol. II. Pt. IV, p. 2515.

8. Historical Papers of Mahadaji Sindhia pp. 70-72. .

modification of the original terms. This letter bewails the prevarications of the Mysorean and his resilement from his former terms of the agreement. The new suggestions from Haidar were as follows :—(1) The current year's tribute of twelve lakhs must be written off. (2) He should be permitted to give his money in terms of the honour of a lower value of $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. (3) According to the original treaty, Haidar agreed to surrender his conquests south of the River Krishna and was to compensate himself from the territories of the English and Muhammad Ali. Out of these Southern conquest a moiety was to be given over to the Mahrāttas. Later on Haidar declined to give up his claims to Dharwar and other places, on seeing that the Mahrāttas were in a tight corner in the north. (4) As the war was likely to last for two or three years, the Mahrāttas should subsidise the Mysore forces. (5) No separate peace should be concluded by them with the English, without his knowledge and agreement. (6) Mahadaji Sindhia should give him a letter of guarantee to observe the terms of the treaty.

This extract contradicts the acceptable version that Haidar was granted away the lands south of the River Krishna. On the other hand, Haidar agreed to surrender all Mahrātta lands south of the Krishna.

It was only later on that Haidar claimed a modification of the original terms of the agreement relating to the territories, when he found that the Mahrāttas were hard-pressed by the English, by internal treachery and financial dislocation.

True to his word, Haidar Āli descended into the Carnātic carrying fire and sword and even wiping out of existence the veterans of Col. Baillie. His victories were nowhere more welcome than in the court of Poona⁹; for their own forces were not making any headway against the English. Their own men Mudhaji Bhonsle and Fatesingh Gaekwar had gone over to the English. Nizam Āli was neutralised by the gift of Guntur by the English. Mahadaji's letters to Nana contrast the glorious career of Haidar Āli with his own internal difficulties, military and financial. "Hyder

9. *Ibid.* pp. 89, 109 & 110.

has annexed Muhammad Āli's territories worth two and a half crores per annum. He has met and defeated the English in every battle. He captured Arcot, the capital where he secured gold and jewels worth two crores. His troops are in high spirits. His treasury is overflowing. Next, he proposes to attack Madras or Trichinopoly.

Contrast with this, our home, ruined by six long years of warfare. We are unable to collect even one-tenth of our revenues. Our debts have mounted up to crores. Haidar is doing splendid work on our behalf. Let us send him some men along with our envoy Krishna Rao. This war must be fought till the English are subdued.¹⁰” Again Mahadaji Sindhia bewails the impotence and treachery of his other allies in contrast with Haidar Āli. “The Emperor and Najib Khan desire us to send them a detachment of troops. The English have penetrated into Malwa. Nizam Āli is quiet. Bhonsle has gone to Bengal. Haidar Āli alone has saved our face in the south.¹¹” Thus did Haidar Āli alone contribute his share of the toil and glory to the cause of the grand alliance.

It is also pertinent to discuss how far the Mahrāttas kept up the terms of the treaty on their own side. Sindhia was always ready to keep Haidar Āli informed of the progress of the events in the north; and was often urging on the Central Government of Poona not to conduct any negotiations with the English without reference to Haidar Āli Khan.

¹² Mahadaji wrote to Haidar Āli on 21st January 1781 thus:—

“To Nawab Azam Haidar Āli Khan Bahadur. Greetings. I have heard with joy your capture of Arcot. I am informed of Col. Coote having been sent against you. The English are anxious to make peace with us, and crush you with our help. They have despatched from Bombay a shipload of troops. A second shipload is soon to be sent under General Goddard. I hear that Col. Coote is making prodigious preparations. Yet I am quite confident, he is

10. *Ibid.* p. 89.

11. *Ibid.* p. 113.

12. *Ibid.* p. 142.

no match for you. The English must be crushed." A similar letter was written to him a month later.

When Nizam Āli proposed a cessation of hostilities, Sindhia insisted that Haidar's previous consent was necessary. He said: "The Nawab Nizam Āli was friendly to the English. Raja Bhonsle was in receipt of British Gold. Haidar alone is our effective and useful ally and he must be consulted beforehand. Further the English are anxious to bring about differences between the Mahrāttas and the Mysorean. So we should do nothing to rouse the suspicions of Hyder Āli¹³."

After the lapse of a few months, Mahadaji changed his whole outlook and position. He was anxious to end the war at any cost, as his territories in Hindustan were in serious jeopardy from the British. The English were not the less eager to welcome a closure of this armageddon against them¹⁴. Warren Hastings bribed Diwaker Pant, the adviser of the Bhonsle to bring about peace somehow. Unluckily he died soon after. Meanwhile, Haidar was spreading terror and devastation to the English in the south. The Government of Madras was daily urging on the Central Government the need for immediate peace. Sir Eyre Coote wrote to General Goddard thus on 1st March 1781: "Congratulations to you for the capture of Bassein. But see here our lot. Hyder Āli has been creating a regular havoc in our midst here, so as to endanger the very existence of the English in India. Somehow you must make peace with the Mahrāttas and send us all the available troops there. Despite our repeated request, you have not made the slightest attempt to conclude peace with the Mahrāttas. Unless your troops come to our succour all will be lost.¹⁵"

Nor did the English arms fare well in Mahārāstra. No wonder that Warren Hastings was anxious to conclude peace with them. So, he sent Col. Muir to Sindhia's camp who eagerly seized this opportunity of concluding peace with honour¹⁶. According to the

13. *Ibid.* pp. 216-217.

14. *Marāthi Riyāsat.* Vol. VII, pp. 352, 355 & 347.

15. *Marāthi Riyāsat.* Vol. VII, p. 350;

Selections from Bombay Secretariat : *Marāthi Series.* Vol. I, pp. 445-46.

16. *Marāthi Riyāsat.* Vol. VII, p. 352.

agreement between Muir and Mahadaji Sindhia, the latter must try to bring about peace between the English and Haidar Āli Khan. If it was not possible, the Mahrāttas must remain neutral¹⁷. This was the first stage in the betrayal of the Mysore leader. Nana Fadnis refused to agree to such a disgraceful betrayal of Haidar Āli, by negotiating for peace without his consent. He wrote to General Goddard in 25th December 1791: "Hyder is our best friend. We shall not make peace without him. If you bring also a letter of consent from him we shall agree to open the negotiations of peace."¹⁸ Nana affixed his signature to the treaty only after the death of Haidar Āli.

But Sindhia was resolved on coming to terms with the English even without reference to Poona if possible; so his obligations towards Haidar Āli were clean ignored. "This peace (of Salbai) was highly favourable to the English, because Mahadaji concluded it on his own soul, single authority without the firm backing of Nana and Hyder." This is considered verdict of the greatest historian of the Mahrāttas.¹⁹

The final treaty of Salbai on 17th May 1782 A.D. was a sad betrayal of Haidar Āli Khan by Mahadaji Sindhia. Also, it was a stab in the back of the Mysore chief. Sindhia not only concluded peace without the consent of Haidar, he also agreed to unite the Mahrāttas and English together for a common expedition against Haidar Āli to compel him to disgorge all his conquests.²⁰ This was an irony of fate in the history of Haidar Āli Khan.

17. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 363.

18. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 358;

Selections from Bombay Secretariat : Marāṭhi Series. Vol. I, p. 440.

19. Marāṭhi Riyāsat. Vol. VII, p. 359.

20. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 367;

History Papers, re. to Sindhia. pp. 256, 265 & 266;

Calendar of Persian Correspondence. Vol. V, p. 498.

Selections from Bombay Secretariat : Marāṭhi Series. Vol. I, p. 480.

MYSORE AND KING DHARMA

BY DR. K. N. V. SASTRI, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

SATYA and *Dharma* in *Satyamevōdharāmyaham*, mean broadly, truth and justice and, as adumbrated by Rājatantrapravina Sir Brajendranath Seal in his Report on the Constitutional Developments in Mysore in 1923, have held sway in Mysore history. It is, therefore, not a little gratifying that the *new* Mysore polity continues to keep them in view.

The standard of efficiency of the present Mysore administration is as high as that of any working executive of a modern democratic State in the West and it is no wonder the Mysore Constitution which is the root of that administration has long been an object of admiration within India and in the far West. While the average citizen in the West lies in the bed of rights and sleeps the freedom of the master of his house, there is no reason for us in the East to work and work with only duties to perform. We are entitled to work for and strive to attain freedom by evolutionary and constitutional methods. In this way the general advance so far achieved is enough to cause Haidar Āli and Tippu Sultan turn in their graves should they behold the vast descent from the pinnacle of their irresponsible administration to the dead level of a modern referendum approximating to the opinions of the people.

Of the many merits of the new constitution may be mentioned a prevalent feeling permeating right through the reforms that the State is still, as ever, higher and greater than the Individual however exalted he may be, and the rights of the people must be secured even at a sacrifice of the rights of the individuals, age-long recognised though they may be. The governmental contact between the Sovereign of the state and his subjects is also of the dominant Western democratic type, the vogue

hither-to-fore everywhere till World-War II threatened to enthrone a totalitarian rule as a substitute for the government by public opinion or a majority rule.

The reserve of authority regarding the last word on any state-matter in the person of the Sovereign in the Mysore Constitution may be regarded as the result of a wisdom which provides due place to a feeling of loyal sentiment and historic tradition, to the obligations of the Sovereign to the Paramount Power and to the necessity of meeting emergencies in political situations calling for the exercise of a strong hand and a quick decision. In the history of Mysore there is no recorded instance of the ruler having exercised this ultimate power tyrannically and it may be said with confidence that in regard to veto this power will lie as rusty as the power of the Crown in England. A narrow conservative politician might think that there is not now much scope, constitutionally speaking, for the direct personal touch of the Sovereign with his subjects without the aid of what may be called the red tape but it must be pointed out that in the Mysore polity where the influence of the Sovereign has always been good, protective, steady and useful this influence in the governance of the state is and will be essential for the development of true responsible Government.

The Durbar is an important political institution wherein the individuals and the communities have access to the presence of the Sovereign. The Royal procession through the populace in the capital and the country is a socio-political system which has ever been considered a practice under, though not a branch of, the law of the constitution both according to Hindu Dharma and the Muslim Shria. Both of these institutions require further study in the constitution.

As the source and fountain-head of law as well as of the constitution and as one standing above and beyond both of them, the Sovereign requires no help in fixing up or determining his position *qua* the Sovereign or the Mahārāja in the polity of the State. Theoretically speaking, on the analogy of the royal veto as in England, even the principle of democracy or the rule of the

majority must bow for its own existence and sanction to the will of the Sovereign and the degree of its success and strength depends upon His Highness' sympathy. But when all is said and done about the Sovereignty of the Mahārāja, it may be stated that democracy has a stronger foot-hold in the present constitution of Mysore than in any other in India although in its journey through the hot climates and the states where the rulers have their special responsibilities, it happens to be a variety *adapted* to suit the needs and requirements of the people of a well-governed and coteded Indian State. That the Reforms Committee should lay down the majority rule as an abiding fact in Mysore and interpret it as a rule of the greatest number is no new or revolutionary idea, but as interpreted by them and incorporated within the constitution, there is not so much to fear that the resulting administration will sacrifice the interests of Mysore on the altar of the irrational myths of Indian party politics or will place a greater burden and anxiety on the ruler without a correspondingly adequate return to his people.

Till a full development of a good party system is attained, it is difficult to say how the new system will work. But it may be confidently stated that there is sufficient patriotism and influential feeling in the country to rise above pettiness and jealousy and partisanship and work for the good of the country.

The greatest constitutional asset of the State at the present moment is the feeling of national solidarity among the people based on social emancipation and enlightenment. The University supplies thinkers and leaders and educates the people by its literature and extramural education work. Well might we hope that chairs for Kannada and for Indian History will soon be found to make thorough the achievements already accomplished in those fields of learning. Industry provides a strong, stable, and loyal middle-class and coupled with agriculture is certain to provide an intelligent electorate not merely in the urban but in the rural areas as well. There is an alert press as a buttress of the state legislatures to keep watch over every word and movement of the administration. Above all there is the Mysore Civil Service, an organisation of

workers who in their spirit of patriotism and general administrative ability are second to no other service of the kind.

The Representative Assembly continues to subserve the original object for which it was started, *viz.* to serve as a meeting place of the representatives of the people and the officers of Government to exchange their ideas and also to look into the grievances of the masses by a sort of annual referendum. This *magnum concilium* of the nation, in spite of its receiving a constitutional position as a popular house of the legislature in the state and continuing to have the dewan as its president, is supposed in theory to be, yet, what it was in its origin, a body of petitioners for the redress of popular grievances. But in its composition it is not the good old council of *Musahibs* or an assembly of the nominated representative ryots, lawyers or merchants. It is now an elected body mostly. The franchise has become fairly wide; its status and powers are vague and indefinite; and the internal divisions are many. The elected, nominated, communal and depressed classes and facultative elements are too many to make the Assembly a body of unsophisticated or simple-minded peasants and merchants. Its position and importance in the State economically and its expressed will politically cannot easily be disregarded by the Government.

The Legislative Council is a more select body but elected on a narrower and lesser franchise than that provided for the Representative Assembly and invested with greater powers, financial and otherwise. There are people who would notice in this body the utter absence of the nobility of blood, the aristocracy of intellect, wealth and the services, and the representatives of the church all of whom as the historical bulwarks of monarchy and on account of their identity with the king in the defence of national interests ought to have had their rightful place in the legislature. Even men of learning and with proper constitutional training and temperament are under the new constitution compelled to seek the franchise of the common people in absolute imitation of the West. It looks as if they are not to be invited to render their services to the country as in the India of the past.

Anomalies there are and there always will be in the machinery of states and far better that they do so exist if only to make the governmental machinery run smooth as we find in the British Constitution which has abundant centuries of experience behind it and the American system which is the British model of 1783 *minus* King George III.

The introduction of a concealed form of dyarchy, it may be observed, may not lead to any serious consequences within Mysore. For in theory it preserves the homogeneity and compactness of the old Executive Council but augmenting and dividing it into two parts, one permanent and another political and temporary in outlook. This new cabinet will be conditioned in practice by the continuous general will represented by the Crown, whose government it is. It has been said that when the views of the elected ministers are over-ruled by the executive head or the Crown, it is so done as representing the original will of the people, in the exercise as it were of the referendum of the people, *i.e.*, of the referendum of the State. This criticism is met in Mysore by determining the popular minister's responsibility *qua* minister to the legislature.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MYSORE TO VAIṢṆAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA

BY A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR, M.A., L.T.

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THE Śrīvaiṣṇava community owes a deep debt of gratitude to Mysore for the great and timely help which that tract has rendered twice for the cause of the Śrīvaiṣṇava religion, once during the lifetime of Rāmānuja himself. The Cōḷa persecution of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas allowed no option except to flee the country for that great teacher while his pupils personated him for the time being. The religion of Yāmunācārya, Nāthanmuni and the Ālvārs was just completing its first works of great and cardinal importance and far-reaching philosophic effects. The *Śrībhāṣya*, the *Vedāntasāra* and the *Vedāntadīpaṃ* were only the forerunners of the great tracts and treatises that were to follow in later times ceaselessly. Rāmānuja had not yet completed the work which he began when the persecution started. It was at this time, when his work was yet incomplete, that he got an asylum in the territory of the Hoysaḷas which gave him the needed peace and place of rest.

The second occasion came during the years of stress that followed the disruption of the empire of the sultanate of Delhi. Allaudin Khilji started the raids into South India which ended in the brilliant but politically ineffective campaign of Malik Kafur. The isolated sultanate of Madura, a legacy of the raid, lived on for a little over half a century until it was conquered by Kumāra Kampaṇa Uḍaiyar which is so beautifully pictured in the verses of Gangādevi in her *Madhurāvijayam*¹. The sack of Srirangam and the closing of the temple of Ranganātha, the various vicissitudes of fortune to which the idol of Ranganātha had to subject itself to

1. *Madhurāvijayam*, edited by Pandits G. Harihara Sastri and Srinivasa Sastri, Trivandrum, 1916, with an Introduction by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Canto VIII.

escape from the hands of the infidels, form a chapter by themselves. It was during this raid in or about A.D. 1327-1329 that several Vaiṣṇava teachers of the time either followed the idol of Ranganātha or lost their lives². Vedānta Deśika, the great Vaiṣṇava polyhistor (A.D. 1268-1370) was then at Srirangam and he found the opportunity to escape along with the two sons of Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa³, the author of the famous commentary on the *Śrībhāṣya*, to Satyamangalam then in the territory of the Hoysaḷas. The commentary itself was kept buried in the sands of the Cauvery to escape the hands of the marauding muslim hordes and later on taught by Venkaṭanātha himself as authoritatively explaining the position of Rāmānuja as expounded in the *Śrībhāṣya*⁴. Once again Mysore came to the aid of the Vaiṣṇava community, gave protection to the cast off teachers of the Vaiṣṇavas and allowed them to mature and spread the teachings of their masters.

A proper understanding of the value of the services can be arrived at, only by an examination of the political changes then obtaining. The dates of Rāmānuja are fixed with approximate precision between 1017 A.D. to 1137 A.D. giving a full span of 120 years. There is also a tradition which gives him only a hundred years⁵. However, it is certain that Rāmānuja enjoyed a fairly long pontificate beginning from the reign of Rājendra Cōla I or his successor. It is difficult to identify with precision the Cōla ruler who persecuted Rāmānuja and his sect. The short-lived Adhirājendra was considered to be the unfortunate ruler who started this unfortunate chapter in the religious history of South India which had so far enjoyed unity within the fold of Hinduism⁶. Instances have been quoted where the greatest of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva saints of the day met together shoulder to shoulder in their common cause against the heretical religions of the Buddhists and

2. *Guruparamparā-prabhāva*. (Tamil). Pandit K. Ananthacharya, 1913. Madras, p. 148.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*.

5. This tradition is recorded by the Tengalai sect of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas.

6. Cf. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Cōlas*, II, (1937) pp. 474-5.

the Jains⁷. Here was the first instance of religious intolerance within the fold of Hinduism—the ruin of the country. No more will the followers of the religions of Śiva and Viṣṇu shake hands with that understanding which characterised their previous relations⁸. Adding insult to injury was the fanatical outburst of Kulōttunga II in 1127 when the image of Govindarāja was removed from the shrine at Cidambaram and deposited in the sea. Rāmānuja had to instal it at Tirupati which apparently was not under the Cōḷa ruler then. The breach started by the persecution of Rāmānuja must have widened immeasurably with this and made it unbridgeable. This is probably one of the main reasons that has contributed for the social exclusiveness of both the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva communities⁹.

South India during the days of Rāmānuja has had comparative peace. The power of the Cōḷas was on the increase as Rājarāja and Rājendra I raised it to heights altogether unknown in Cōḷa history. In the extreme south the Pāṇḍyas were only the feudatories of the Cōḷa overlord, paying tribute. The Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi were in the full vigour of their power as their greatest ruler Vikramāditya VI was to ascend the throne only in 1075 A. D. The kingdom of Veṅgi was in the hands of the Eastern Cāḷukyas and was ultimately to pass under the Cōḷa ascendancy under Kulōttunga I. It was not until towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I that Veṅgi was again lost, to the Cāḷukyas. Vijñāneśvara claims for his patron Vikramāditya an extensive territory extending from sea to sea (east to west) and this could be possible only after the conquest of Veṅgi by the Cāḷukyas in 1118 A.D.¹⁰. During the period under review the following table of the Cōḷa kings may be borne in mind¹¹:

Rājendra-Gaṅgaikonda Cōḷa I	A.D. 1012-1044
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7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 487.

9. An instance of the growing exclusiveness is cited by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, in a record of Tirukaṇḍaiyur—257 of 1925 (Cf. *Cōḷas* II, pp. 487-8).

10. Cf. The closing verses of the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara. See p. 433, foot note 29, where the verses are cited.

11. This table is compiled from *The Cōḷas* of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. *Cōḷas* I, n. 293.

Rājādhirāja-Rājakesari	A.D. 1018-1052 .
Rājendra II Parakesari	„ 1052-1064
Rājamahendra Rājakesari (died as Crown Prince)	„ 1060-1063
Virarājendra Rājakesari	„ 1063-1069
Adhirājendra	„ 1067-8 to 1070
Kulōttunga I	„ 1070-1120
Vikrama Cōla	„ 1120-1135
Kulōttunga II	„ 1135-1150

The Cālukya contemporaries of the period were:

Satyāśraya A.D. 997 who had to defend himself against
Rājarāja Cōla 985-1014 A.D.
Rājakesarivarman.

The next ruler of importance is

Someśvara I Trailokyamalla, contemporary of Cōla Rājendra
and Bhoja of Dhārā.

Someśvara II	till 1075 A.D.
Vikramāditya VI	1075 to 1128 A.D.
Someśvara III	1128-1138 A.D.

On the Pāṇḍyan side, as already pointed out, it was the period of the Cōla ascendancy. Rājendra Cōla's invasion and settlement of the Pāṇḍya country is dated about 1020 A.D. and till 1070 A.D. the Cōla-Pāṇḍya Viceroys carried on the administration. In A.D. 1080 Kulōttunga again invaded the Pāṇḍya country to quell the rebellions instigated presumably by Vikramāditya VI and his ally of Ceylon. The Pāṇḍyan line is not yet extinct but the vigour is somewhat on the decline for the time being. Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Śrīvallabha come at the close of our period at 1120 and 1132 A.D. respectively¹². Bhoja of Dhārā was still alive when Rāmānuja was yet a child and he probably knew of the greatness of Bhoja as a scholar and poet.

The Hoysaḷas who so much figure in the life of Rāmānuja were not sovereigns in their own name but the feudatories of the Cālukyas. Vinayāditya Hoysaḷa flourished about 1048 A.D. His son Ereyaganga claims to have led a successful invasion against

12. Refer : *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (1929). p. 259.

Dhārā in the north and the Cōḷas in the south. His son Ballāḷa I was soon after followed by the more famous Bittideva or Viṣṇuvardhana. By 1117 A.D. he is said to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas and Tuḷus and even threatened Kāñci—possibly a revenge as well against the Cōḷas for the persecution of his teacher, Rāmānuja¹³.

The attempts of Viṣṇuvardhana to throw off the supremacy of the Cālukyas were very probably unsuccessful since it was the time of the powerful Vikramāditya VI¹⁴. But the claim of Viṣṇuvardhana of having chastised the Cōḷa has probably some truth since the Cālukyan overlord was no friend of the Cōḷa and would be gratified at any dig directed against the Cōḷa territory. Gangavādi was taken from the Cōḷas by 1117 A.D.¹⁵ and this marks an epoch in the fortunes of the Hoysaḷas. Viṣṇuvardhana was undoubtedly the greatest of the Hoysaḷas and his inscriptions at Belūr in the Viṣṇu temple bear testimony to his having adopted the teachings of Rāmānuja and sums up his achievements and conquests. The limits of the territory claimed as under the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana practically embrace modern Mysore. This is officially recognised by the Cālukya records of 1137 A.D. which close the period of dependence upon the Cālukyas and begins the era of independence¹⁶.

The traditional accounts of Rāmānuja credit Viṣṇuvardhana as having helped the teacher in the construction of the temple at Melkote or Tirunārāyaṇapuram, unearthing the structures of an old temple fallen into repair and buried under the earth¹⁷. He ruled over the entire territory of modern Mysore as already shown. He defeated the Cōḷa generals and even threatened Kāñci¹⁸. All these tend to point out that Kūlōttunga I was probably responsible for initiating the persecution of the Vaiṣṇavas about the beginning

13. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 474.

14. There is evidence to show that Vikramāditya VI in his last years realised the restless spirits of the Hoysaḷa ruler.

15. *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 474-5.

16. *Ep. Car.* Belur, 17.

17. *Guruparamparā-prabhāva*, Anantacharya, pp. 81-3 for a full account of the excavation and construction of the temple.

18. *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 474-5.

of the twelfth century. In this case the return of Rāmānuja to the Cōḷa territory must have been only after the death of Kulōttunga I, in 1120 A.D. The persecution must have started only after Rāmānuja had completed his tour throughout India and had gathered round him a large number of disciples so as to attract the attention of the king. This could have been possible only after a long, energetic and successful leadership on the part of Rāmānuja. Viṣṇuvardhana outlived his older contemporaries Vikramāditya and Kulōttunga¹⁹. That Rāmānuja stayed for a considerable number of years in Mysore is attested by the *Guruparamparā* which mentions his stay at Tirunārāyaṇapuram for over twelve years²⁰. The same work attributes the persecution as due to the bad advice given by the Śaivas to the then Cōḷa king and chronologically comes after all the works of Rāmānuja had been written and were being taught at Srirangam by that teacher²¹. Assuming that Rāmānuja became a *sanyāsī* in the prime of his life about 1050 A.D. and also taking into consideration the period of training and the tours he had completed from Alvārtirunagari and Tirukurungudi in the Tinnevely district in the extreme south to Kashmir in the north a modest estimate of fifty years for the entire work of organisation and consolidation can only be appropriate. This would naturally place the Cōḷa persecution under Kulōttunga I in the beginning of the twelfth century.

Reviewing the question from another point, Viṣṇuvardhana is first associated with his brother Ballāḷa in 1100 A.D.²². The inscriptions of Ballāḷa do not go beyond 1106 A.D.²³. The

19. It is not improbable that Viṣṇuvardhana contributed materially in the construction of the Govindarāja shrine at Tirupati, by Rāmānuja.

20. *Guruparamparā-prabhāva*, p. 83.

“திருநாராயணன் ஸன்னதியில் பன்னிரண்டு ஸம்வத்ஸரம் ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு தர்சனார்த்தம் ப்ராஸாதித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிற நாளையிலே, ஒரு ஸ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர் கோயினின்றும் வந்து உடையவர் திருவடிகளிலே தண்டன் ஸமர்ப்பித்து” etc.

21. *Ibid.* p. 79.

22. *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 474.

23. *Ibid.*

Guruparamparā states that at the time of Rāmānuja's flight to Mysore he stayed for some time at Singar Koil which he renamed as *Śalagrāma* and went to Toṇḍanur²⁴. At the request of the Toṇḍanur Nambi he went to Mysore and cured the daughter of Viṣṇuvardhana from the malady from which she suffered²⁵. It would therefore be appropriate to assume that Kulōttunga who had suffered reverses from the Cālukyas and Ceylon must have been irritated against the Vaiṣṇavas by some misrepresentations carried to him by his Śaiva officers who might naturally have felt piqued at the success of Rāmānuja as a teacher²⁶. The probable date of the persecution may be placed about 1106 A.D. when Viṣṇuvardhana became the actual Hoysaḷa ruler. The twelve years of Rāmānuja's stay in Tirunārāyaṇapuram would coincide with the last years of Kulōttunga I till his death in 1120 A.D. and Rāmānuja must have returned to Srirangam only after 1120 A.D.

It is interesting to note that some of the greatest names in the literary history of India were the contemporaries of Rāmānuja. Vijñāneśvara must have been a younger contemporary of the teacher. Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*²⁷ under Govindacandra of Kānauj—the author of the greatest and the first of the *Smṛti* digests in India and the forerunner of all the later digests, all of them borrowing from the *Kalpataru* without exception, was a younger contemporary. King Bhoja of Dhārā must have been known to Rāmānuja and was an elder contemporary of the teacher. Lakṣmīdhara was the Mahāsandhivigrahika of Govindacandra or the Minister of War and Peace holding also the

24. *Guruparamparā-prabhāva*, p. 80.

25. *Ibid.* p. 24.

26. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, சோழவம்சசரித்திரச்சுருக்கம் (1925) p. 33. Here he takes the view that Kulōttunga was the king who created the fear of persecution and caused Rāmānuja to fly to Toṇḍanur in the territory of the Hoysaḷas.

27. Refer to the Dewan Bahadur R. Krishnaswami Rao Lectures, University of Madras, 1938, by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, on *Rājadharmā*, p. 28, already published by the Adyar Library. The lectures were delivered in March 1938. The work has appeared also serially in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 1939. Parts 1 and 2 Vol. V, Part 1 and Vol. V, Part 2 Supplement.

important office of Chief Justice²⁸. Vijñāneśvara wrote at the command of Vikramāditya VI whom he extols in the concluding verses of the *Mitākṣarā*²⁹. He claims for his patron an extensive territory extending from sea to sea, east to west, and from the *Setu* (or *Danuṣkōṭi*) to the Himalayās, north to south. A defeat of Kulōttunga is punned in the verse running thus :

Caṭulatimikulottuṅga riṅgattaraṅgāt.

This is probably a historical reference to the defeat of Kulōttunga at the hands of Vikramāditya whose natural enmity as rivals with conterminus territory and rival claims for the kingdom of Veṅgi, is a valid presumption³⁰.

But Rāmānuja claims no court patronage though he was acclaimed by Viṣṇuwardhana. One ruler persecuted him. Another bowed low before him as a disciple. His life was directed to the spiritual welfare of the disciples and as such has no reference to the grandeur of courts and kings.

Such, then, were the conditions under which Rāmānuja lived and propagated his living faith among his followers. The consequences of a premature demise of Rāmānuja at that juncture could spell nothing but disaster for the religion the strength of which was yet in the making. Persecution has often ended in firmly establishing the creed persecuted. The same was the case in this instance as well. Mysore gave a resting place to Rāmānuja who escaped the fate of

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, with the *Mitākṣara* Nirnayasaṅgraha edn. p. 492.

*Nāsīdasti bhaviṣyati Kṣititāte Kalyāṇa Kālpam puram
No dṛṣṭaḥ Śrūta eva vā Kṣīpatih Sri Vikramārkoṇamaḥ |
Vijñāneśvara Paṇḍitō na bhajate Kiñcānyadanyoṇamaḥ
Cākālpam Stiramastu Kālpalatikā Kālpam tadetat trayam ||
A Setūh Kirtirāśeḥ Raghukulatilakasyā ca Sailādhirājāt
A ca pratyak payodheḥ caṭulatimi Kulottungaringattaraṅgāt |
A ca prācas Samudrānnata nṛpati śīroratna bhā bhāsuranghriḥ
Pāyādā candratāram Jagadidamakhilam Vikramāditya devaḥ ||*

30. This question is fully discussed by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in his paper on *Lakṣmīdhara and Vijñāneśvara*, which has appeared in the *Golden Jubilee Volume* of the Madras Law Journal Press, 1941.

Kūrttālvān and Periya Nambi ³¹ his own disciple and teacher who were blinded for not agreeing to the statement put before them by the Cōḷa king. Such a condition would have been calamitous to the creed. Mysore the land of hospitality, free from such persecution, gave a halting place from which to watch and grow strong ³². Here lies the value of the stay of Rāmānuja in Mysore, to the greatness of whose ruler this paper is dedicated.

31. *Guruparamparā-prabhāva*, p. 83.

32. I have written a separate paper on Rāmānuja which has appeared in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, April, 1941. This paper supplies the historical back-ground and estimates the value of Mysore as a resort of the Vaiṣṇava refugees. The two papers should be read together.

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IN MEDIEVAL KARNĀṬAKA (THIRD TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY A.D.)

BY ANANT P. KARMARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

AS in the other branches of culture, the contribution of Karnāṭaka in the field of polity also is of an outstanding importance. In fact, during the period of the various dynasties of the Gangas of Talkad, the Kadambas, Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas, Yādavas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara we find a consistently gradual development of the administrative machinery only to culminate in perfection in the regime of the Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara emperors. It is proposed here to give a brief survey of it.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

It may be noted at the outset that the various terms *viṣaya*, *rāṣṭra*, *nāḍu*, etc. applied to the various provinces or divisions of the Karnāṭaka kingdom become rather misleading if used with the same connotation during the different periods of its history. For the term Karnāṭaka-*viṣaya* 4,000 or the Banavāsi 12,000, whatever connotation it might have had when originally used, it may not convey the same extent of area or territory during subsequent centuries. Yet we find that the same names with the same designations have remained in vogue for a long time. Therefore it behoves us to be cautious in our endeavour to understand these expressions when we come across them.

Divisions :—The following were the main divisions of the Karnāṭaka empire in the different historical periods :

(a) **Kadamba Period :—**Under the Kadambas, the country was divided into four main divisions, *i.e.* North, East, West and South, of which Palāṣika, Uchchangi, Banavāsi and Triparvata were the capitals¹. The other sub-divisions will be mentioned later.

1. Moraes, Kadambakula, p. 264.

(b) *Cālukya Period*:—When the Cālukyas emerged on the scene, there were the Aparānta, Konkāṇa, Lāta, the three Mahārāṣṭrakas containing 99,000 villages, and other provinces in existence. Besides, the whole country was divided into viṣayas and deśas equivalent to the rāṣṭra in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. Further, smaller units like bhāga, kampaṇa, pathake, etc. were also in vogue.

(c) *Ganga Period*:—During this period the word nādu became equivalent of the rāṣṭra.

(d) *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Period*:—The empire was divided into the following units: rāṣṭra (biggest unit equivalent to the maṇḍala of the other periods), viṣaya (smaller division), bhukti (under Bhogapati or Bhogika) containing about 100 to 500 divisions, and grāma.

(e) *Vijayanagara Period*:—The kingdom was divided into six main provinces, e.g. Udayagiri, Penugunda (including Guttirāja), Āraga or Malerāja, Chandragutti, Mulavayi, Bārakūra (or Tuḷu), and Rājagambhira respectively². After the battle of Rakkasa-tangaḍgi, as Mr. Richards observes,³ the kingdom was divided into “Āndhra, Karnāṭa, Madura, Chandragiri, Gingee and Tanjore.” Besides, the following sub-divisions of the empire are enumerated: “grāma, nagara, kheda, kharvada, madambe, paṭṭaṇa, droṇamukha, simhāsana.”⁴

A Controversy:—Besides the above there were a number of divisions in vogue in the historical period, e.g. Saptārdhalakṣa, Raṭarāja, the three Mahārāṣṭrakas containing 99,000 villages, Kuṇḍi 3,000, Gangavāḍi 96,000, Banavāsi 12,000, Karnāṭaka 4,000, etc. A great controversy has centred round the question regarding the exact meaning conveyed by these numerical figures. As I have expressed it elsewhere⁵: “According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar the number may indicate either the revenue or the value of the land produce, or even the number of villages. Rice is of

2. A.S.R. for 1907-8, p. 235.

3. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, I, p. 67.

4. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 123.

5. A. P. Karmarkar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938, p. 785.

opinion, that the number indicates the revenue. Mr. C. V. Vaidya on the other hand strongly asserts, that the number cannot represent villages nor ploughs, and leaves the problem undecided after suggesting that the number may indicate the amount of land produce paid as government share. According to Dr. Fleet, the figure refers to the number of townships." In our opinion, however, the explanation lies absolutely the other way. In the *Skānda Purāṇa* a fabulous figure of the respective number of the townships and the villages in India is given. India is said to have contained about 72,000 townships and 96,00,00,000 villages. Curiously enough, the *Raṣṭarājya* is said to have consisted of seven lakhs of villages, which fact nearly agrees with the expression noted above. This *Raṣṭarājya* did not include *Karnāṭaka* in so far as it has been separately mentioned in the same chapter. Therefore these numbers evidently indicated something fabulous and exaggerated in them. But one fact is certain that they always represented the number of villages.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

We do not find any trace of a republican form of Government in medieval *Karnāṭaka*. During this period the king was the absolute ruler of the state. The various records describe that a good king was the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, sportiveness, profundity, high-mindedness, valour, fame and delicacy, a friend of things living, spurning the riches of others, making gifts to priests, chiefs and the learned, honouring them and keeping their company⁶. Besides, a good king was also to be well-versed in the science of polity, e.g. *Sāḍgunya* and the *Sapta-Prakṛtis*. However, it is a fact worth noting, that a majority of the kings of the *Karnāṭaka* proved themselves the greatest warriors, the best statesmen, eminent literary personages, and the best rulers of the state.

Checks on Royal Authority :—In *Karnāṭaka* we do not find the existence of any public institutions like the *Paūra* and the *Janapada*, or the self-autonomous bodies (*Village Assemblies*) of

6. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 259; cf. also, Fleet: *J.B.B.R.A.S.* IX, p. 283; *E.C.* IV, Hs. 18.

the South, which could control the activities of the king⁷. However, though not to the same extent, the ministers used to assert their own rights in matters of succession⁸. Further, how-so-ever their power may be limited, the village assemblies could partly work as a check on the king's authority. Apart from this, with the exception of the many expressions in the inscriptions, the position and the power of the king remained unchallenged.

The Queen:—The position of the queen was unique both at home and in the political life of the State. The extreme instance of their privileged position is to be seen in the Queens of Śrī-Puruṣa, Bātuga and Permadi, who ruled together with the king and the Yuvarāja, respectively⁹. The queen also took a keen interest in religious matters¹⁰. Besides she also took part when the king led an expedition in war.

Succession:—Generally kingship was hereditary in Karnāṭaka. Krishna Rao gives a different version altogether, while dealing with the Ganga administration. He says¹¹: Normally the reigning monarch chose the fittest amongst his nearest relatives or sons, as heirs to the throne, and the eldest son had no prescriptive right by birth alone. The choice of an heir presumptive to the crown lay between the king's uncle, if younger than himself; a younger brother¹² or son of his elder brother; his own son or an adopted child¹³.

Education:—The king supervised carefully over the question of education of the members of the royal family. Arrangements were made to educate them 'in the science of politics, of elephants

7. The temporary occupation of the Tamil land by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Vijayanagara emperors did include such bodies. But they were not a permanent feature of the State.

8. e.g. Govinda II was deposed and Amoghavarśa III was installed on the throne. The Ganga King Durvinita's claims also were suspended. (M.A.R. 1916, p. 233; 1912, pp. 31-32),

9. E.C. IV, Hs. 92; E.C. III, Nj. 130.

10. M.A.R. 1926, p. 38.

11. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talkad*, p. 127.

12. E.C. III, Ni. 269; E.C. X, Sp. 59; E.C. III, Sr. 147.

13. E.C. VIII, Nr. E.C. III, TN, 21

archery, medicine, poetry, grammar, drama, literature, the art of dancing, singing and instrumental music' ¹⁴.

Yuvarāja :—The selection of the Yuvarāja was generally made in the lifetime of the king, e.g. selection of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda. The Yuvarāja was sometimes appointed as Viceroy or Governor of a province, e.g. the Ganga King Ereyāṅga and King Stamba. He functioned also as a minister as can be seen from the various records. The prince sometimes helped the king in matters of administration ¹⁵.

The Yuvarāja 'had the status of the Panchamahā-Śabdas, and was invested with a necklace which was the insignia of his office' ¹⁶.

MINISTRY AND OTHER PALACE OFFICERS

In the earlier periods of its history Karnāṭaka was still a nation in the making. It was only after the full-fledged rule of the various dynasties i.e., the Cālukyas (Eastern and Western) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, that its administrative machinery assumed a 'body and form' and reached perfection during the next few centuries. A brief survey of the institution of the ministry and other Palace Officers in the different periods of Karnāṭaka history may be found useful.

Ministry under the various representative dynasties :

(1) The Gangas :—The following designations of the ministers holding different portfolios occur in the inscriptions: Sarvādhikāri (Prime Minister), Daṇḍanāyaka ¹⁷, the Mannevergadde (The Royal Steward), Hīriya Bhandāri, Yuvarāja and Sandhivigrahin (Minister for Peace and War) ¹⁸, spoken of also as Mallavijaya Sūtrādhikāri and Mahā-Pradhāna ¹⁹.

(2) The Cālukyan Period :—Sandhivigrahin (Minister for Peace and War), later called as Heri Sandhivigrahin ²⁰ and

14. E.I. X, 62; E.C. XII, Nj. 269, etc.

15. E.C. XII. 269.

16. E.I. IV, p. 242. •

17. E.C. V, Hn. 53; E.C. II, SB. 240.

18. E.C. VI, Mg. 21; E.C. V, Ak. 194; E.C. X, Kl. 63.

19. E.C. XI, Dg. 25.

20. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 144.

Further, the Kaṣas inscription of Govinda IV³⁴ informs us that generals were supplied with palatial buildings permitted to use elephants for riding, invested with brilliant robes and cunningly worked staffs, which were the insignia of their office, and were authorised to use a multitude of curiously made parasols. They had, like the Mahāsāmantas, the great musical instruments of their own office. Sometimes the Ministers were appointed (*e.g.* Kālidāsa) as chiefs of the feudatories³⁵. The kings used to grant them villages 'renamed' after them³⁶.

We need not add anything in regard to the working of this vast machinery, which was in itself efficient and perfect. The registers of all the original drafts of the royal documents, grants and endowments were kept separate (one such headquarter being at Thāṇā)³⁷. The Cōḷa records show that "royal orders, when drafted by the secretariat, were countersigned by the Chief Secretary."³⁸ Generally the grants contained the royal sign-manual, the names of the composer of the grant and the person who conveyed it to the grantee³⁹.

PROVINCIAL, DISTRICT, TOWN AND VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

Provincial Administration

(a) The Mahāsāmantas :—The term Mahāsāmantas is rather differently used in the various periods of Kārṇāṭaka history. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period the governors of the provinces were endowed with this designation. But under the Cāḷukyas, as Rice would have it, they were to supervise, control and direct the activities of the feudatory chiefs called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras.

The post of the Mahāsāmantas was sometimes hereditary as in the case of Bankeya and his descendants. They were sometimes called as Rāja or Arasa (*i.e.* Mārakkarasa, under Govinda III). The office of the Mahāsāmanta was also military. "They could

34. E.I. XIII, p. 334.

35. I.A. VIII, pp. 279-280.

36. I.A. VIII, pp. 279-280.

37. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 117.

38. S.I.I. III, Nos. 151, 205.

39. Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 173.

exercise the privilege of the remission of taxes 'even without the consent of the king.' " "The Governors were assisted by officers like the Nāḍ-heggade, or Nāḍ-perggade, Nāḍa-gāvunḍa.⁴⁰ " They had their own courts at their capitals⁴¹. And they possessed powers even to quell any insurrection if it was to arise. These Governors were probably helped by the Rāṣṭramahattaras⁴².

The District and Tālukā Officers

The Viṣayapatis and the Bhogikas or Bhogapatis managed the administrative work of the Town and the Tālukā respectively. The Bhogapatis were sometimes given feudatory titles⁴³. The Viṣayapatis were probably helped by the Viṣayamahāttaras.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the problem of the appointment of the revenue officers, *i.e.* Nāḍagāvunḍa and others. Still the Viṣayapatis and the Bhogikas possessed power of remission of taxes. Further, as Dr. Altekar observes, "taxes in kind or foodstuffs, and vegetables formed part of the pay of the local officers."⁴⁴

The Mahattaras:—The Rāṣṭrapati - Viṣayapati - Grāma-kūṭa - Āyuktaka - Niyuktaka - Adhikārīka - Mahattaras—all these appear in some of the inscriptions⁴⁵. The word Mahattara is variously interpreted as: (i) Sheriff, Commissioner, Official and President (Barnett)⁴⁶; (ii) also as Grāmakūṭaka = village headman (Monier Williams)⁴⁷. But we may agree with the conclusion of Dr. Altekar when he says, that "there is nothing improbable in the evolution of the bodies of the Viṣaya and Rāṣṭramahattaras on the analogy of the institution of the Grāmamahattaras which existed almost everywhere in the Deccan

40. E.C. VII, Sk. 219; cf. Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 265.

41. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

42. *Ibid*, p. 178.

43. I.A. XII, p. 225.

44. Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 181.

45. I.A. VIII, p. 18.

46. E.I. XII, p. 145.

47. I.A. VIII, p. 18.

from c. 500 to c. 1300 A.D.⁴⁸” It is interesting to note in this connection that there was also an officer called Mahattara Sarvādhikāriṇaḥ’ appointed⁴⁹.

Town Administration

The towns were administered generally by the guild-corporations with their Prefect called the Paṭṭaṇasetti. They were called as *Puraṇatis* and *Nagarapatis* in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period⁵⁰. Sometimes military officers were appointed to the posts⁵¹. Once, in the time of Jagadekamalla⁵², Mahādeva and Pālaladeva were appointed as joint prefects at Bādāmi. As Krishna Rao has aptly summarized the system of administration in the towns: “The Assembly of the town imposed taxes on houses, oil mills, potters, washermen, masons, basket-makers, shop-keepers, and customs on imports and exports, giving exemption to Brahmīns from payment of chief taxes, and administered law and order through the Nāgarika or the Totigara, the magistrate and the head of the city police. He had to dispose of all important disputes relating to the roads and houses, regulate prices, take the census and keep a record of all persons coming into and leaving the city, at the same time remit regular accounts to the king. He also enforced regulations regarding houses and streets and sanitation, assisted by Gopas and Sthānikas. The Brahmīns enjoyed exemption from payment of taxes and customs dues of the nāḍ, on condition of carrying out annual repairs or managing public affairs, which they successfully performed by appointing one of their members in rotation once a month (*masa-vaggadde tana*).⁵³”

The Village Administration

The villages were called by their various designations, e.g. Keri, Kallu, Biḍu, Haḷḷi or Ūru, etc. It should be noted that the villages in the Karnāṭaka were of three types, i.e. “Tamil,

48. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 159.

49. I.A. XII, p. 66.

50. Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 181-182.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, pp. 161-162.

Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra so far as the problem of the village council is concerned". The villages were divided into separate quarters for residence for the different communities.

The village officers consisted of (i) Gāvunḍa or Gāmakūṭa, Gāmunḍa or Sthālagowda, (ii) Yuktas, Āyuktas, Niyuktas or Upayuktas, or (iii) Karaṇas, Senābhoḃa, Śānabhoga or Lekhaka (iv) Watchman (taḃavāra) and other minor servants like begārs (labourers), etc.

Village Headman :—The village headman was a hereditary officer. Generally there used to be only one headman for every village; though several are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Rattas of Saundatti⁵⁴. The headman had to look after the defence⁵⁵, the militia and revenue administration of the village. He was empowered to try petty criminal cases. He was allotted revenue-free lands in lieu of his services. He also used to enjoy the taxes in kind, payable to the king by the villagers, down to recent times⁵⁶. Along with the headman the name of *perggade* also is mentioned in some of the inscriptions. The headman used "to escort royal ladies to their destination."⁵⁷

The Village Assembly

As already observed above the village assembly in the Karnāṭaka was of three different types. The Tamil type was fully autonomous and the Kuḃuvolaḃ system was in vogue under the same. The Karnāṭaka and the Mahārāṣṭra type consisted of the Mahājanas or village elders, who formed a democratic body equally useful and successful as their aster-institution in the Tamil land.

Mahājanas :—These were designated as a Mahattaras in the Mahārāṣṭra and Perumakkaḃ in the Tamil land. The Mudinur⁵⁸ assembly consisted of 500 Mahājanas whereas that of Veṇugrāme

54. Altekar, *Village Communities*, pp. 48, 54-55.

55. E.I. XI, p. 224 ff.

56. Altekar, *Village Communities*, p. 194.

57. J.B.B.R.A.S. X, p. 257.

58. S. I. Epigraphy, 1926, No. C. 464.

was comprised of 4,000⁵⁹. However the Brahmin members of the assembly were designated as Mahājanas and the Vaiṣyas as Nakharas.

Who were they?—As has been pointed out by Dr. Altekar, the Mahājanas formed the entire group of all the families in any village. The fact of an inscription at Perur referring to the 500 families of Perur and on another occasion to an equal number of Mahājanas of Perur is enough to corroborate the above statement⁶⁰. These Mahājanas also included all the adult population of the village. Except in the Brahmādeya lands the Mahājanas consisted of people of different communities also⁶¹.

Their Qualifications :—Their qualifications are described in the following inscription⁶²: “The earth extols the thousand as being men abounding in (good) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipped by the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus feet of the blessed god Keśavāditya”.

Functions :—As Dr. Altekar has described the main functions of the Mahājanas were: The Mahājanas of the Karnāṭaka used to perform the functions of trustees and bankers, manage schools (temples), tanks and rest-houses, raise subscriptions for public purposes, and pay village dues to the central government⁶³. In fact, contributions and taxes were collected on occasions like the marriage or thread ceremony⁶⁴, etc. The Mahājanas also helped towards the maintenance of the famous college at Salotgi. They were very influential in the king's courts.

Meetings and other Affairs :—The Mahājanas used to hold their meetings with the headman as President, either under a tree or in a local temple or as at Kaṭṭiyūr in a Sabhāmaṇḍapa. Even

59. E.I. XIII. p. 252.

60. Cf. 1022 A.D. I.A. XVIII, p. 273 ff. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*. p. 199.

61. I. A. XII. p. 125.

62. E.I. XVIII. p. 196.

63. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 205.

64. I.A. XII. p. 224.

a foreign traveller, Sullaiman opines that "there existed popular courts in India in addition to the king's courts⁶⁵." The jurisdiction of the Mahājanas was limited to petty criminal cases only. In other matters they had full freedom to treat all kinds of cases. However, there was the power of an appeal to the king.

The village revenues comprised (i) the Melavaram or Government share, and (ii) Cudivāra or the inhabitants' share⁶⁶. The Government could not attach the latter. The king used to consult the village representatives in important local matters affecting the village⁶⁷.

Justice

The judicial administration in the Karnāṭaka had also reached a certain degree of perfection. Besides the king as the Supreme ruler there were different kinds of judicial bodies in the state, *e.g.* (i) The Chief Judicial tribunal, *i.e.* Dharmādhyakṣa or otherwise called Dharmādhyakṣagaḷ; (ii) the Mahādandanāyaka or the chief of the Nādu, who also used to decide matters within his jurisdiction; (iii) the Guild-courts or what the Dharmasāstras termed as Śreni; and finally, (iv) the headman, or the village assembly, in case there was an assembly, in the village.

Punishment:—Krishna Rao is of opinion that "much unnecessary litigation was avoided by the practice of Samyā-sasana."⁶⁸ The decision in regard to the village disputes was given by the Senāboova and it was final.

The higher courts (Nos. I and II) had the power to award capital punishment for murder⁶⁹. The following ordeals were in vogue: (1) Ordeal by boiling water and by mounting the balance; (2) Ordeal by heated metal; (3) Ordeal by killing a snake in a jar⁷⁰; and (4) Ordeal by the holding of the consecrated food in the presence of the village God⁷¹.

65. Sulaiman Saudagar, p. 81.

66. E.I. XIII. p. 35.

67. E.C. VIII. Sb. 132 Desai, Karnāṭaka Historical Review.

68. Krishna Rao *op. cit.* p. 172.

69. J.B.B.R.A.S. IX, p. 308.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.* p. 176.

A certificate of victory (Jayapatra) was issued to the successful party.

Public Finance

A study of the problem of taxation and land tenures in the different periods of Karnāṭaka history is interesting. We find therein a gradual development of the various methods adopted by the State towards systematization. The periods of the Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Hoysaḷas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara are of special importance.

Summary of the Results obtained:—The following taxes were imposed in the various periods. (I) *Cālukyas*⁷²: Land Revenue, a family tax called Okkaldere⁷³, 'Taxes on the manure pit, oil-mills, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, pepper, saffron, women's cloth, cart loads of paddy'⁷⁴, cart-tax⁷⁵, oilmongers, weavers, artisans⁷⁶, the partnership tax, the family tax on bullocks, herjjunka, Kodavisa, handura haṇa'⁷⁷, and a tax on mirrors which was to be paid by the prostitutes⁷⁸.

Customs Duties:—The customs dues were the perjunka, vaddaravula, and the two bilkoḍe⁷⁹. These were charged on various commodities, e.g. areca-nuts⁸⁰, drugs, spices, clothes, horses⁸¹, musk, saffron, yak-hair, panchavarige, cus-cus grass⁸², etc.

(II) *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* Period⁸³:—The main sources of income were: (a) Regular taxes: *Udranga*, *Uparikara*, (the two being the same as *Bhūgabhogakara*: bhāga being land-tax and bhogakara

72. Cf. Dinkar Desai, *Mahamaṇḍaleśvaras*. Finance. pp. 467 ff.

73. E.C. VII. Sk. 192.

74. E.C. VIII. Sb. 299.

75. E.C. XI. Ja. 9.

76. S.I. Epigraphy, 1919, No. B 267.

77. E.C. VII. Hl. 46.

78. E.C. VII. Šk. 295.

79. E.C. VII. Sk. 110 and 192.

80. S.I. Epigraphy, 1915 Nos. 476, 480.

81. E.C. XI. Cd. 21.

82. S.I. Epigraphy, 1917, No. c 16.

83. Cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 212 ff.

being petty taxes in betel-leaves, fruits), *Bhūtapraṭyaya* (general excise and octroi duties, and manufacture of articles), or *Śulka* or *Siddhaya*, *Visti* (forced labour and miscellaneous taxes, e.g. marriage and on the attainment of puberty⁸⁴ and a tax on men dying without a son or on those who have no sons.) (b) Occasional taxations: *Chūṭabhaṭapṛavesyadaṇḍa*, *Rājasevakūṇām vasati-daṇḍa* and emergency demand of the State. (c) Fines: (d) Income from government properties, seri or crown land, waste lands and trees, mines and salt, and treasure trove and property of persons dying without heirs. (e) Tributes from feudatories.

(III) Hoysaḷa Period:—Besides the taxes mentioned above a list of many more were added during the Hoysaḷa regime⁸⁵. "All kinds of goods, even firewood and straw were taxed, excepting glass-rings, brass pots and soap balls. The traders paid *mane-bāb*; *angaḍi guttu* was paid by the shop-keepers; the *āyagāṇa* and other officers accounted for one-third or one-eighth of the produce to the government; those who sold spirituous liquor paid *kallali*; the butchers were liable to the half-yearly tax called *kusāyi-gutta*; washerman paid *ubbe-gutta*; those who smelted iron, *homla-gutta*, annually; the weavers and the manufacturers of cotton cloth paid *jakāyati*; *gāṇige-gutta* was the name given to the tax on oil-makers; *samayācūram*, that on the headman of each caste; *jāli-mūnyam*, that paid by the Mādiga or Chucklers; the salt-makers had to pay *uppinamolla*; the cow-herds, *hullabanni* for feeding their flocks in the public pastures; *kāvali-gutta* was the name given to the tax which the government got by letting out jungles; and those who were convicted of murder (?) (homicide ?) and executors were liable to the *jāyiri-gutta*.

(IV) Vijayanagara Period:—The Rāyas of Vijayanagara added to the list many minor items of income (cf. B. A. Sale-tore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*).

Expenditure:—All these revenues were spent on various items, e.g. Military department, personal expenses of the King

84. I.A. XIX. p. 145.

85. Cf. Sale-tore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*. I. pp. 148-149.

and the members of the Royal Family, religious endowments, public works department and all other items of expenditure that a good government generally adopts.

Land Tenures

The epigraphical records of the period throw a flood of light on the system of land revenue.

The lands were divided according to the nature of the soil such as Makki (black soil), land for Kummari cultivation, etc.⁸⁶ Further as Krishna Rao observes: "The epigraphical records make mention of three kinds of tenures under which the farmers held the land. (i) The *Sarvamānya*, a kind of gift wherein the government relinquished all rights, (ii) The *Tribhoga*, a joint tenure enjoyed by three distinct parties, e.g. a private person, god of the village, Brahmins and Talavittis. Then there is a mention of grants such as, *Biṭṭukaṭṭu* (for certain tanks), *Kerekodege* and *Kaṭṭakodege* (for services for the upkeep of the tank), *Bal-Galchchu* or *Kaḷṇād* (grants of land made to the family of the fallen heroes). Mention is made in several inscriptions of *Rakta Kodege* or *Nettara Kodege* (the same as *Bal-Galchchu*)"⁸⁷.

In the Vijayanagara period the following kinds of land tenures (which were rent-free) are mentioned: "*paṇḍarivāḍai*, *jāvita-parṇu*, *adaippu*, *otti*, *guttigai*, *servai*, and others."

Taxation:—Futher, "the land taxation in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* times was very high. It was about twenty per cent including all the miscellaneous dues like the *Uparikara* or *Bhogakara*. It may be pointed out that Sher Shah and Akbar used to claim thirty-three per cent of the gross produce from the peasant⁸⁸, and the incidence of taxation in the Vijayanagara Empire seems to have been still higher⁸⁹."

The land revenue was collected both in kind and cash. There are instances to show that even instalments were given to

86. E.C. VIII. Sb. 35.31,

87. Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, pp. 154 ff.

88. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 76 ff.

89. Altekar. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 223.

the agriculturists for the payment of land revenue⁹⁰. In cases of emergency even remissions were made by the supreme authorities.

Ownership in Land

The various inscriptions of the different periods of Karnāṭaka history show that the government did not claim any proprietary right in the lands of the realm (except in the case of their own private property). The Koṇṇur inscription of Amoghavarśa I⁹¹, and the Tīrukkayālūr inscription⁹² clearly prove, that it was generally the land and not the revenue paid that was assigned to the donee. Further, as Dr. Altekar observes: "the fact that the king⁹³ should find it necessary to give only detached pieces of cultivable land situated in the different corners of the village shows that the state was not, and did not claim to be the proprietor of the entire land of the realm⁹⁴." Dr. Altekar even takes the support of the statements made by Jaimini, Śabāra, Kātyāyana, Nīlakaṇṭha, Mādhava and Mitrāmīśra. About the fact that Jagannātha who disagrees with the above authors, Dr. Altekar says "Jagannātha is a very late writer and his testimony is contradicted by the almost unanimous views of both earlier and late writers."

90. I.A. XIII, p. 68.

91. E.I. VI, p. 29.

92. S.I.I. III, pp. 104-6.

93. Būttīga II; cf. J.B.B.R.A.S. X, p. 199.

94. E.C. VIII, Sb. 35, 31.

THE TIRUPPŪVAṆAM PLATES OF JAṬĀVARMAN KULAŚĒKHARA I*

BY K. S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

THE recently published part of the *Epigraphia Indica* contains an article by the veteran epigraphist Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar on the only set of the mediæval Pāṇḍya copper plates that have been brought to light so far. The first edition of this set of copper plates appeared in 1886 in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV when owing to the meagre knowledge then available it was dealt with in a summary way, scholars being then much handicapped by not having had the full texts of the allied documents for an intensive study. The previously published text of the set contained errors of reading, even the order of the leaves as given there was wrong and a whole line had been omitted. The irregular order of the leaves occurred also in presenting the text of the Leiden plates in the *Archæological* volume referred to above and it remained so till Mr. Aiyar edited them in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XXII, p. 213), doing full justice to the importance of the contents of the inscription. Mr. Aiyar in editing these plates has pressed into service the results of his intensive study of hundreds of inscriptions which have a close bearing on the various phases of the inscription contained on the plates. Deep and wide knowledge of the ancient institutions of the country, marshalling of evidences relating to the questions at issue with a critical scrutiny of them, an impartial judgment, honest labour and close reasoning and arguments which are associated with Mr. Aiyar make the article of great value to us.

After dealing with the circumstances which necessitated the re-editing of the inscription, the author proceeds to its contents.

* *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXV. pp. 64 f.

The inscription is in two parts. The first which is in Sanskrit gives the mythical genealogy of the Paṇḍyas traced from Hari through Atri, Moon, Budha and Purūravas and states that Rājagamabhīradēva, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign Svāti, Sunday and bā. 11 (Saturday, 29th November A.D. 1214) ordered the determination of the boundaries of the *brahmadēya* village which was called after his name, by circumambulating it with a female elephant. The second part opens with the usual eulogy of king Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I commencing with the words *Puvīṅkiṭṭi*, gives the same details of date as in the first part, calling the year the twelfth opposite the thirteenth and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. The immediate object of the inscription is stated to be the drawing up of the deed and giving it to the donees and it is said that this was done in the thirteenth year and four thousand three hundred and sixtieth day of the reign of Kulaśēkhara embodying the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant. The formation of the new *brahmadēya* had already been effected when the order for the circumambulation was given. Two other dates, viz. the tenth year opposite the thirteenth and eleventh year opposite the thirteenth, the first referring to the state of the lands and villages which were ordered to be taken up in the formation of the village and the second referring to the date when the *brahmadēya* had to take effect, occur in the inscription. The preamble of the inscription tells us that on a date when the king was at Madura, he ordered that a village called Rājagamabhīra-caturvēdimangalam after his name should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a *brahmadēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares set apart for the temple and for those who had to do service. The date that is specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite the thirteenth of the king's reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the next year i.e. the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. It then tells us that from the villages that had to be included in the new village such lands as

were old *dēvadānas*, *pallichchandas*, and *kūrāṇmai* should be excluded with the exception of the *dēvadāna* villages Vāgaikkūḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr. The remaining lands and villages had been constituted as the *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhira-caturvēdimāṅgalam so called after the king and included in Rājagambhiravaḷanāḍu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as *veḷḷān-vagai*, cultivating ryots etc. and the *mudal* of the lands removed and closed under one *nūḍu* one *puravū* and one village.

This inscription affords an opportunity for considering in detail the constitution of the villages classed as Caturvēdi-māṅgalams, the composition of the assembly that functioned in such villages, the state of Vēdic learning in ancient Dekhan, the history of the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings and the geography of the various divisions of the Pāṇḍya country, at the time.

It is pointed out that the new village of Rājagambhira-caturvēdimāṅgalam was one of the biggest villages that ever was formed, so wide that it comprised as many as 140 old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions and that the party for the settlement of its boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, canals and rivers on the way, as many as sixteen being directly concerned in this matter while the newly formed village was bestowed in the first instance on 1,080 families of Caturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas. For determining the constitution of the villages of this class the author examines a number of inscriptions of a similar nature, besides the statement made in these plates which says that from the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in the new village care was taken to exclude the old *dēvadānas*, *pallichchandas*, and *kūrāṇmai* i.e. lands that had been previously granted to vaidik temples, Buddhist, Jain or other shrines etc. It is said also that the remaining lands had been constituted into a *brahmadēya* village called Rājagambhira-caturvēdi-māṅgalam under the king's name, particular attention being paid to the previous owners, old names, the classification as

vellān-vagai, cultivating ryots etc. of the lands completely removed and the entire extent of the lands in the new village being classed under one *nāḍu*, one *puravu* and one village. Though the name Caturvēdimaṅgalam is itself enough to indicate that it was a constituency of one class of people, the express statements cited above, *which are also found repeated in other similar records* prove definitely that no other class of people had any vested interest in the village. The author points to the constitution of another class of village called the *Ūr*, incidentally mentioned in the Tiruppūvaṇam plates. 'The whole village of Mīḷaganūr having been taken up and included in Rājagambhira-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a number of villages were given in exchange for it'. In this case also, care was taken to have the previous owners of the villages removed, their old names changed and the prior constitution altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were taken up to form the Rājagambhira-caturvēdimaṅgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village was given the name Rājēndraśiṅganallūr. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village again, which was not a Caturvēdimaṅgalam, the same precautions were taken as in the other, to bring the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used are the same in both instances viz. *Oru-nāḍum ūrurum oru-puravum-ākki*.

Mr. Aiyar notices the contents of a number of mediæval inscriptions—one of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I, another of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and a third of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I—, all of which speak of the formation of Caturvēdimaṅgalams : and he compares them with the constitution of Dayā mukhamaṅgalam as detailed in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates and the grant of Paramēśvara, and shows that the principles followed were the same both in the seventh century and the thirteenth century A.D. The following very interesting and instructive features of the constitution are given:—

(i) The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being somewhat more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the principal donees numbered 1,080 and the shares

made, were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarmacaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48, while the actual number of shares made was 65. In the case of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-caturvēdimāṅgalam the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made was 147. In the earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

(ii) The donees in all the grants of Caturvēdimāṅgalams (or simply Maṅgalams in the earlier grants) were Brāhmaṇas well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras*. While some of the mediæval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as *Vēḷamum Śāstramum pōy vyūkhyātūkkalūy irukkum*, others add *poruṭṭadu* before *pōy*. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates: *Vēdatraya-smṛiti-jushām vidushām Jvijānām*. In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled *Caturvēdi* than *Trivēdi* or *Ṣadaṅgavid*.

(iii) All the records state that villages had temples in them, or contemplated the construction of temples in them, meant for the use of the donees, and made provision for them.

(iv) In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the extra shares, numbering 120, are stated to be for *dēvadūna-paṇṣey-virutti-paṇṇu*, i.e. 'shares meant for the *dēvadūna* and for the maintenance of those who had to render service.' The grant of Ravivarmacaturvēdimāṅgalam provided 12 shares for 12 Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār and two shares each for the temples of Śrī-Rāma-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār and Paṇḍimā-dēviśvatamudaiyār and one share for Toṇḍaimāṇ-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār. The earlier Dayāmukhamāṅgalam grant provided five shares for Tiruvaḍigal i.e. Viṣṇu and two shares for Mahādēva.

(v) The grant of Vikramapāṇḍya-caturvēdimāṅgalam provides three *vṛittis* for the teachers of the *Vēdas*, one of the teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambadiyas*, half for village-accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for *iraṅkolli* and barber, three-fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyū*. The earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam

plates provide one share each for the reader of the Mahābhārata and the drummer, one share for each of the three *madhyasthas*, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the headsluice and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples. The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman make provision for a physician and for one that had to perform worship. In the Paramēśvaramaṅgalam grant shares were allotted for persons that had to perform worship, execute repairs, supply fire and water and read the Bhārata.

(vi) Other *vrittis* such as those for doctors, watchmen (or police), library etc. provided for in the constitution are of wider interest meeting as they do the requirements of health, education, police etc.

Besides showing from the statements in the inscriptions that the constituency of Caturvēdimāṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas (Caturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas), self-sufficient in every way, and that other classes of people were there for performing specific acts, were given separate accommodation in *nattam* lands, Mr. Aiyar points out that "in this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Caturvēdimāṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the *sabhā* which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of *sabhās* in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the *sabhā* was the administrative body functioning in Brāhmaṇical villages and that it had only Brāhmaṇ members, more direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VIII." That equates the administrative body functioning in such villages with the *sabhās*. He cites another

inscription which gives the names of 144 *brahmādēyas* wherein, without even a single exception, each one of the villages is stated to have had a *sabhā*. Numerous transactions of the *sabhā* are recorded in inscriptions giving the names of members numbering in some cases thirty and forty and all of them are Brāhmaṇas as the titles and *gōtras* show. The constituency of Caturvēdi-maṅgalam, "as indeed any other such as *Ūr*, *Nagara* etc. was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as *Ūr*, *Nagara*, *Sabhā* etc. by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of *Vellān* landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors etc. it had the assembly of the *Ūr*, the members of which body were the *Vellān* landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the *Nagara*. And if it was a Brāhmaṇical village having in it mostly Brāhmaṇ landlords with such families of farmers etc. as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the *Sabhā* for its management. The very formations of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies viz. *Ūr*, *Nagara* and *Sabhā*, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the *Ūr* or the *Sabhā*, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and ryots who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the *vritti* assigned therefor."

It is the general impression especially among scholars who follow the lead of Prof. Roth that no living tradition relating to Vēdic exegesis existed in the time of Sāyaṇa, though it is admitted that Sāyaṇa mentions several schools and works without throwing any light upon the exact sources of information of which he makes use in his interpretation of the Vēda. Many are inclined to question if there was at all any regular tradition of Vēdic interpretation preserved prior to the advent of Sāyaṇa. Systematic exegesis of the Vēdas had been woefully neglected from the earliest times in India is the opinion of some scholars who regard the fourteenth century as a special period of activity in the field. What invaluable light is thrown on this little known topic by the South Indian Inscriptions is vividly indicated in the contribution on the Tiruppūvaṇam plates. The author notes that "furthering the cause of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found a tangible expression in the form of *caturvēdimāṅgalams*, *brahmadēyas*, *agaras* or *agrahūras* and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of *caturvēdimāṅgalams* by running through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* ranging from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it be remembered that each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent men who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and that each one of the villages had an administrative body called the *Sabhā*, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several committees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vēdic learning, there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and systematic study of the Vēdas and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were hundreds of thousands of persons who carried on the torch of Vēdic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīrā-caturvēdimāṅgalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the

Vēdas and *Śāstras* but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction *um* in the phrase *Vēdamum Śāstramum pōy* and the use of the adjectival phrase *vyākhyātākālūy irukkuṁ* qualifying *Caturvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ* leave no doubt that the subject of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled *vyākhyātas* i.e. exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days may be mentioned. These inscriptions use the additional word '*poruṭpaḍa*', i.e. 'with meaning' before the verb '*pōy*' 'had gone through'." "The *Toṇḍantōṭṭam* plates, though incomplete, besides saying that the chief *Dayāmukha* after duly informing the Pallava King *Nandivarman* *Pallavamalla* got the village which acquired the name *Dayāmukhamāṅgalam* granted to no less than 308 *Brāhmaṇa* scholars of *Vēdas* and *Smṛitis*, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons though only partially preserved gives the names of 108 *Caturvēdins*, 28 *Trivēdins*, 24 *Ṣaḍaṅgavids* and about 10 *Kramavids* all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It would be strange if a *Ṣaḍaṅgavid* did not know the import of the *mantras* for the very object of the *Nirukta-bhūshya*, one of the *Ṣaḍaṅgas*, was to fit a student easily to grasp the sense of the hymns. As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village, and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vēdic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of *Caturvēdi-māṅgalams* preserved in the inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vēdic scholars from the seventh century down to the thirteenth." A number of *Caturvēdi-māṅgalams* whose foundation must be taken to have been in the days of the early Pallava Kings, *Siṁhaviṣṇu*, *Mahēndravarman*, *Naraśimhavarman*, *Paramēśvaravarman*, *Vijayāṅkura*, *Avaninārāyaṇa*, *Vayiramēgha*, *Aparājita* etc. the *Cōla* Kings *Vijayālaya*, *Āditya I*, *Parāntaka I*, *Ariṇḍjaya*, *Sōlamārttāṇḍan*, *Rājāśraya*, and the

Cāḷukya-Cōḷa kings that followed Adhirāḷēndra, and to the early Pāṇḍya Kings Kaduṅḡō, Māṇavarman, Parāntaka Neḍuṇḷjaḍaiyan, Varaguṇa and Śrīmāra are noticed. "The foundation of the numerous Caturvēdimāṅgalams and the grant of them as *brahma-dēyas*, or *agrahāras* by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noted above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vēdic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vēdic exegetes from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1190-1215), Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1251) and Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Sāyaṇācārya, the prodigious commentator on all the *Vēdas*, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then. Besides the grant of *brahmadēya* villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the Vēlas were taught. Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vēdic learning. The charities of the Vaisya Dāmayan Mādhavan recorded in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Virarāḷēndra included provision for the teaching of the *Vēdas*. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallūr, which is partially built in, makes provision for a *Bhaṭṭa-vritti* by a lady named Saṇṇaiichchāṇi also called Uttaramallūr-Nāṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the *vṛitti* must be one that has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the *Vēdas*, in the *Vyākaraṇa*, and the two *darśanas* of the *Mīmāṃsa* as well as the *Nṛitta* (*Nirukta*) *bhāṣhya* and is capable of expounding the *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya-bhāṣhya* with *varttikas* and *Vaiśeṣika* with *Ṭikā*, and that he must remain in the *maṭha* erected by that lady on the bank of the tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian History, the study

of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* and their exposition must have been pursued zealously."

To the student of ancient Indian polity, the information contained in the article is thus of immense value. The suspicion or rather the misconception of some writers (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 206 etc.), ignorant of the proper import of inscriptions, that the rural administrative bodies going by the names *sabhā*, *ūr* etc. were a medley of all classes of interest is set at naught by the voluminous evidence which Mr. Aiyar has cited.

The history of mediæval Pāṇḍyas,—made difficult to grasp by the simultaneous rule of several members belonging to different branches of the family intriguing with some of the powers that surrounded them,—had many a dark spot which required to be explored. A flood of light is now thrown on the little known political relationship of the different members of the Pāṇḍya family with their neighbours in the mediæval period, when the whole of Southern India was in a state of restlessness and confusion caused by the interference of the armies of Ceylon whose help was sought by one of the claimants of the Pāṇḍya throne. The three articles on the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśēkhara I clear up many a knotty point in history. For the first time it is shown that what is known as the Pāṇḍya war of succession continued for nearly a century.

The trend of events in the history of the mediæval Pāṇḍyas and the political situations of the various powers of South India in the period have been very clearly brought out :

"The outstanding political event of the century commencing with the end of the reign of Māravarman II, is the civil war alluded to above, which, while it lasted, did not confine itself within its own limits, but threw the whole of South India into a restless state and rudely disturbed its peace. Begun at first between two rival parties of the royal house of the Pāṇḍyas, it soon made the heads of all the chief kingdoms to range themselves on a side which seems to have been weak but just, while the other was very strong and derived its support chiefly from the foreign country of Ceylon. It

exhausted the resources of the Cōlas, sowed seeds of discontent among their chieftains and turned them into open rebellion and brought about the destruction of the mighty empire which had been built up by the military genius of the members of the revived Cōla line of Vijayālaya and the aid of 'the victorious standing army' that won laurels wherever it was sent. The permanent outpost of the Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country was also an off-shoot of this war. In about A. D. 1167 two hostile branches of the Pāṇḍya family put forth rival claims to the throne of Madura. At first, the parties were headed by Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara. The Sinhalese chronicle gives indeed a very full description of the help which the Ceylon King Parākramabāhu gave to Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and his son Vīra-Pāṇḍya and recounts the many deeds of valour performed by the Sinhalese army. From this very account, which is naturally one-sided, one does not fail to gather that the cause of Kulaśēkhara was espoused by the other kings of the mainland, principal among them being the Cōla, whose country was threatened with immediate danger. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II tell us that the Cōla supported the cause of Kulaśēkhara. The hostilities between the parties of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara continued in the reign of Rājādhirāja's successor Kulōttunga III (A. D. 1178-1217). The position was the same. Vīra-Pāṇḍya who was now joined by his son, was supported by the Sinhalese, while Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, probably the son of Kulaśēkhara, applied to and obtained the help of the Cōlas. The earliest mention of this war in the records of Kulōttunga III is dated in the fourth year of his reign *i.e.* in A. D. 1182. It states that the son of Vīra-Pāṇḍya was defeated with the allied forces of the Sinhalese, that he was deprived of his kingdom and crown and forced to flee from the field of battle, that his country and crown was taken by the Cōla and given to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and that a pillar of victory was set up in the Pāṇḍya capital, Madura. Later records tell us that Vīra-Pāṇḍya, sometimes after his first flight, revolted and tried another chance with Kulōttunga III but was defeated again at a place called Neṭṭūr. The treatment meted out to Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his son in this war by the Cōla king was anything but satisfactory. The Pāṇḍya queen was made to

enter the harem of the Cōla and when the Pāṇḍya king himself, along with his ally the Cēra, came, bowed, and sat down at the foot of the Cōla throne, the Cōla king placed his feet on his head and dismissed him. It is impossible to expect the defeated party to put up with this extreme humiliation for any length of time. Now, if there was a counter invasion of the Cōla country directed against the very sovereign that behaved in a most remorseless manner in the treatment of a fallen adversary appearing before him with all humility, it would not be difficult to find out who the invader must have been, and what the cause of the invasion was. The invader Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, who, in the last years of Kulōttunga III, did unto him and his son all that had been done to the latter's Pāṇḍya adversary a few years previously might in all probability be the unnamed son of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who, along with his father was ignominiously treated by Kulōttunga III. In our opinion, it will be extremely unnatural, and impossible to a high degree, that Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, a weakling who owed his very being as a monarch to Kulōttunga III, or a son of his, would, without any cause, ever rise against his Cōla benefactor. Thus it will be seen that the civil war begun by Parākrama Pāṇḍya in about A.D. 1167 was pursued by his son Vīra-Pāṇḍya, and pushed to a decisive end by Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. The other hostile party counted Kulaśēkhara and his son Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and perhaps one other member. In the account of the Pāṇḍyan civil war that has come down to us both from the Sinhalese source and from South Indian epigraphs we are able to see very clearly that the side of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya—represented mostly by Vīra-Pāṇḍya, his son, and Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I—was very resourceful, was of undaunted spirit and performed noble deeds of valour, while that of Kulaśēkhara, represented by himself and Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, was weak to a degree and had to be propped up again and again by the Cōlas."

In the article on the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, the author has discussed the various problems regarding the parties that got themselves entangled in the civil

war in the Pāṇḍya country. He has shown how the Hoysaḷas, the Pallavas, the Koṅgu kings, all came to play prominent parts in the struggle for succession, besides the Sinhalese whose aid was sought at first. The following table showing at first sight the several stages of the war, leading up to the accession of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, is given on p. 165 of Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIV.

" First Stage

Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Vira-Pāṇḍya supported by the Sinhalese.	Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya aided by the Cōḷa Rājādhirāja II and the Koṅgu King Rājakēśari Kulōttunga and his brother.
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Second Stage

Earlier—Vira-Pāṇḍya and his son supported by the Sinhalese and the Cēra.	Māṇavarman Vikrama - Pāṇḍya aided by the Cōḷa Kulōttunga III.
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Later — Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.	Cōḷa Kulōttunga III.
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Third Stage

Earlier—Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Peruñjina aided by the Sinhalese.	The Cōḷa Rājarāja III supported by the Hoysaḷa Naraśimha II who also backed up the father of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II.
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Later — Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.	Hoysaḷa Virasōmēśvara and Koṅgu Virarājendra supporting Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II and his father."
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"The reign of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II is important as being the one in which the Pāṇḍyan civil war ended, and as showing how in the final issues of it, the Hoysaḷas came to play the part which the Cōḷas did earlier". Thus "just three years before the end of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I, the Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I won laurels in the field against the Cōḷas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination."

The author has pointed out, for the first time, that there is a peculiarity and a system in the mode of dating 'adopted in the inscriptions of the Pāṇdyas. It has been shown that many of the inscriptions of Māṛtañjaḍanyan *alias* Varaguṇa Mahārāja are dated in some years opposite to the fourth (Ep. Ind. Vol. XX, p. 48), and that the records belonging to the years after the completion of the fourth year of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II up to the eighth year are dated as 4 + 1 etc. giving prominence to the fourth year or rather counting fresh years from the end of the fourth. Similarly the dates of the records falling after the expiry of the eighth up to the eleventh year are expressed as 8 + 1 etc. thus counting fresh years from the eighth year, while those later than the eleventh year are cited as 11 + 1 etc. "It looks as if this systematic counting of fresh regular years after the expiry of the 4th, 8th and 11th years must have been devised to commemorate some important events that marked those fresh years in particular", though what those events were are not at present known. This suggestion of Mr. Aiyar finds corroboration and support from a comparative study of the records of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, which has yielded in his hands epoch-making results. "It is now clear that the three different introductions" (i.e. *pūḍalamaḍandai*, *pūvin-kiḷatti* and *pūtalavanitai*) "belong to three different kings who bore in common the title Jaṭāvarman, and the name Kulaśēkhara. The earliest of these kings was the one that had the *pūḍalamaḍandai* introduction, the middle one adopted the *pūvin-kiḷatti* introduction, while the last used the *pūtalavanitai* introduction. The first counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and had a reign of at least fifteen years as at present known extending up to A.D. 1176-77, a special event in his career marking out the end of the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1166-7). This year the students of Pāṇḍya history know to be the year of the commencement of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. There is thus no doubt that this must have been the Kulaśēkhara who killed Parākrama Pāṇḍya and waged a prolonged war against the son Virā-Pāṇḍya and the allied forces of the Sinhalese generals sent by Parākramabāhu of Ceylon." Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with the *pūvin-kiḷatti* introduction began his reign in A.D. 1190, and the last known regnal year for

him is 28. Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara with the *pūtalavanitai* introduction counts his regnal year from A.D. 1237, and his records go up to his eleventh year of reign.

Discussing the known facts found in mediæval Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, Mr. Aiyar concludes that the following lines of Pāṇḍya kings existed in the mediæval period.

“(i) The line of Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya. To it belonged Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara whose inscriptions have the *pūtalamaḡandai* introduction, the king that was primarily concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the two Koṅḡus and the Cōḡas. Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśēkhara's rule was brought about by the Cōḡa Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1176, on his proving a traitor to the cause of his benefactor; and in this short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Māḡavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Vira-Pāṇḍya the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, ruled.

(ii) The line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya which counted himself, his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the latter's son whose name is not revealed in Cōḡa inscriptions. There are strong grounds for supposing that this unnamed son must be Māḡavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to the throne, not only towards the Cōḡas but also towards the kings of the two Koṅḡu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulaśēkhara and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vira-Pāṇḍya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them; and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Koṅḡu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Cōḡas was no less.

(iii) In the line of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, there was his son Sundara Pāṇḍya who was old enough to be associated with him in the government of the country. This prince perhaps

never succeeded to the throne, and if he did, he must have had a very brief reign in which he did not leave any inscriptions. Who his successor was, it is not possible to determine at present. But it appears certain that there was another Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha.

We cannot be sure if Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara with *pūvin-kilatti* introduction belonged to any one of the three lines noticed above or if he came of a different line."

Finally the paper deals with the ancient geography of the Pāṇḍya country which had not been handled before exhaustively and about which many wrong notions prevail. Numerous evidences from the inscriptions and Tamil literature have been adduced to show that Mīlalai-kūrṅgam,—where dwelt two of the greatest devotees of Śiva whom posterity has honoured by including them among the canonised Śaiva saints,—was in the Pāṇḍya country. Needless to add they are Tiruvadāvūrar otherwise called Māṇikkavāchagar and Kulachchirai-Nāyaṇār. The former spent most of his days at Āvuḍiyār-kōyil, while the place of nativity of the latter was Maṇamēlkūḍi, both of which places had been stated by Śēkkulār to be in the Pāṇḍya country. And inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I down to the latest period state that Mīlalai-kūrṅgam was in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. Thus it is curious that some writers should boldly assert that this division and Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam were in the Cōla territory. It is proved here (1) that the river Vellāṅgu formed the northern boundary of the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom, (2) that Mīlalai-kūrṅgam formed the triangular island bounded by the rivers Vellāṅgu and Pāmbāṅgu and the Bay of Bengal and (3) that Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam lay further south of Mīlalai-kūrṅgam intervened as it was by two other divisions, *viz.* Kōṇāḍu of which the chief place was Koḍumbaḷūr the capital of a family of Iruṅḍōvōl chiefs and Kōraḷāntaka-vaḷaṇāḍu and as such it had no connection whatsoever with the Cōla country. It is indeed very interesting to note that as in the earlier period, the two divisions had been supplying Pāṇḍyan ministers and State officials even in the thirteenth century A.D.

REVIEWS

Speeches of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore (Śrī Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar IV). Vol. I. 1902-1933 & Vol. II. 1934-40. Price Rs. 1-10-0 and Rs. 1-8-0 respectively. Copies available from the Superintendent, Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore.

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S. S.

Śrī Krishnarāja—Śrī Jaya Chamarāja Souvenir. (Published by the Karnāṭaka Publishing House, Bangalore).

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S.S.

Speeches by Sir Mirza M. Ismail. (Vol. I. 1926-30 and Vol. II. 1931-35).

Price Rs. 3/- each. Copies can be had from the Superintendent, Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore.

WE have already reviewed in these pages Volume one of the speeches of Sir Mirza M. Ismail, 1926-30. The second volume is from 1931-35. It begins with his speech at the Federal Structure Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference on Indian Constitutional Reforms and ends with a speech made in giving away the prizes for the successful babies at the Baby Week Celebration at Mysore. For the variety of subjects dealt with in an itinerary necessitated by the duties of State, the volume would be hard to rival. Sir Mirza is endowed by nature with a gentle human touch. Homely, captivating and of very inoffensive manners, he has had contacts with eminent personalities in various fields of life and thought in the world. "The world has become a neighbourhood, bound together, not by choice or brotherly love, but by necessity and the bonds of mutual interest and growing out of conditions of modern commerce and communications. There is a conflict going on in the world today between the forces of nature and those of nationalism. The forces of nature as represented by modern science, are tending towards the unification of the world and the annihilation of all barriers, while nationalism is busy building high walls across and isolating nations from one another. Exaggerated nationalism is among the chief factors that increase the world's present affliction. That kind of shortsightedness is grimly illustrated all over the face of Europe. Indeed, it is more than possible that any moment there may be, to use Mr. Baldwin's words, a second explosion in that continent." The cloud burst six years afterwards, the result of which is devastation, misery and starvation in every land, and let us hope that it will not be a return to the stone age sacrificing the civilization of a thousand years of good and fruitful effort. This high-minded statesman is anxious to see that before long India will cease to be the problem she is today and that she should be set on the high-road to self-government with the goodwill and co-operation of Great Britain. He desires a constitution with full autonomy in the Provinces, responsibility at the Centre, subject to such transitional safeguards

as may be necessary and unavoidable and a close association between British India and the States in matters of common concern on terms which ought not to be difficult to realise. His work in Mysore is calculated to lead the rest of India on a pattern of administration which ought to be unexceptional. We look forward with interest to the third volume comprising the period 1936-41.

S. S.

The Mysore Dasara Exhibition Official Hand Book and Guide, 1940.

Mysore and Modern Industries. Price As. 0-8-0.

Mysore—By R. K. Narayan. Price Re. 1-0-0.

Inside Mysore. Price Re. 1-0-0.

Guide to Dasara in Mysore. Price As. 0-6-0.

Village Uplift in Mysore. Price As. 0-4-0.

Guide to Śravanabelgola—by Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.

Price As. 0-4-0.

(Copies of the above books may be obtained from the Superintendent, Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore).

The Mysore Dasara Exhibition Official Hand Book and Guide for 1940

printed by the Superintendent of the Government Press is profusely illustrated and contains useful information about Mysore on a variety of topics. Several messages appreciative of the rule of His Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur IV are also included. A topical guide book, it has many articles of merit, indicating what the co-operation and love of the people can do for progressive activity and unity of purpose.

Mysore and Modern Industries gives the story of Industrial Development in the Mysore State. As Sir Mirza 'M. Ismail, the Dewan in his broadcast talk in Madras on the 5th of August 1938 said: "We are very proud of our factories and at the risk of being called provincial try to set before all true Mysoreans the ideal that they should wash themselves with Mysore soap, dry themselves with Mysore towels, clothe themselves with Mysore silks, ride Mysore horses, eat abundant Mysore food, drink Mysore Coffee with Mysore sugar, build their houses with Mysore cement, Mysore

timber and Mysore steel, furnish their houses with Mysore furniture and write their letters with Mysore paper " and may we add, deck themselves with ornaments made of Mysore gold !

Mysore by R. K. Narayan is an interesting book on Mysore dedicated by the author to Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore from 1926 to 1941. It has a detailed land, road and rail map of Mysore. The author has evidently enjoyed his journey in Mysore going up hill and down dale, over bus and car, travelling in the Malnad and the Maidan, through jungle and forest, mountains and mines and in cities and through villages, visiting the old battle-fields and religious places and industrial suburbs and natural scenery. The Rāja, the Roarer and other falls on the Śaravati and the Cauvery Falls on one side compared and contrasted with the Kannambadi dam and the gardens of Brindavan on the other, leaves him in a dilemma—whether man has conquered nature or nature under a divine guidance is allowing man to play tricks with her ! In any case, the rare world of dream and poetry, created with colour, light and water where a bright sheet of twenty feet, below an illuminated pavilion, flowing through the jets of innumerable fountains, lit up all the way by coloured lights and joining the river, from the middle of which it rises and shoots up into a column of water twice as high as Gomaṭanatha, the monolith of Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa, entrances him.

Inside Mysore by N. S. R. Chandar, the title of which is a copy of Gunther's *Inside Asia* and *Inside Europe* contains a number of articles on this land of progress by distinguished men. *Inside Asia* refers to the late Mahārāja of Mysore as an absolutist whose autocracy is only in theory and rightly asserts that it has no more than a generic relationship with the autocracy of princes elsewhere in India. He is further described as one of the saintliest men in India with no vices, no interest in the life of the flesh and almost unique among the Mahārājas, living on a civil list, with his personal money separate from State Funds. "The Dewan is a Muslim, Private Secretary an European and the Huzur Secretary a Christian. The Prime Minister or Dewan (Sir Mirza M. Ismail) is a shrewd, industrious, highly competent administrator who knows every stick and stone in Mysore, who looks under the

carpets in the public buildings to see if any dust is there, who is a kind of super-efficiency expert for the whole State with a passion for neatness, for precision, endowed with considerable political sense, keeping in touch of everything, possessing a strong instinct for public service, assures to industrialise Mysore by sound engineering methods and he has influenced and trained young Mahārājas elsewhere.

Guide to Dasara in Mysore by the Publicity Corporation, Bangalore, is a small, neat, handy brochure describing in detail the Dasara and its link with Vijayanagara together with whatever is worth seeing in Mysore. The articles on Dasara by Rao Saheb Rājacharita Viṣarada C. Hayavadana Rao is accurate and succinct and K. S. Venkataramani writing on the charms of Mysore reminds us of old Campbell who after a tour in the vale of Kashmir wanted to get back to old Mysore. Venkataramani who went from Ramēśvaram to Rṣikeśa and travelled East and West and North and South over ten thousand miles refers to our late Mahārāja Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar as a gentle philosopher always inspiring with his love and wisdom and to the Dewan as a statesman, with a delicate human touch, weaving the rough cocoanut fibre of politics into a silken thread, smiling ever so simply and pleasantly, withal seemingly unconscious of his gentle, magic touch.

Village uplift in Mysore is an account of the work done in the rural tracts of Mysore during the forty years of Śrī Krishnarāja's reign. There are 15,591 towns and 16,483 villages and over five and a half millions or 84.1% of the population live in the villages. The necessity to concentrate our attention on their improvement is realised by all and further practical steps should be taken to secure their welfare.

The Guide to Śravaṇabelgoḷa published for the Government of Mysore by the Director of Archæology, Dr. M. H. Krishna with sketch maps is very helpful to tourists. Belgoḷa appears to have been derived from the white pond of a Sramaṇa or Jaina monk so named with reference to the colossal Jaina image of the place according to Dr. Krishna, though some inscriptions mention the name of the place as Belguḷa, Belugūḷa and Belaguḷa, which has given rise to another derivation from the plant, white guḷḷa in allusion

to a tradition which says that a pious old woman (Gullakayajji) completely anointed the gigantic image of Gomāṭa with the milk brought by her in a gullakayi or gulla fruit. There are about five hundred inscriptions in this place collected and published in Volume two of the *Epigraphia Carnāṭica* Series beginning from 600 A.D. Dr. Krishna refers to the remote times of Candragupta, the earliest Mauryan Emperor yet known and to his guru Bhadrabāhu to whom two inscriptions there are said to refer. A little more information on the identity of this matter would have been helpful but apparently in a guide book that would make for tiresome reading. The illustrations are excellent. The image of Gomāṭa was under construction for over ten years. The statue is remarkable: it seems to contemplate humanity down the ages or look down upon posterity: serene and peaceful, impressive, apparently a trifle scornful but withal contemplative of the struggling world, perfectly self-controlled. As Fergusson says nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt and even there no known statue surpasses it. I have seen the later representatives of Gomāṭa at Karkala and Enur: and none of them can compare with this in expression, in impressiveness, in majesty, dignity, beauty of design and execution or in that calm, beatific spirit of renunciation. Once you see it, you have witnessed a wonderful sight which you can never forget till you get out of the orbit of its hypnotic influence and for at least forty miles around the vision continues.

S. S.

The Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, New Series—Vol. I,
No. 1. Annual Subscription Rs. 4/- Each copy Rs. 2/-.

Now that the Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University has started a New Series, we trust that the members of the University will no longer seek foreign journals for their articles, and realise that the results of their research must find a place in their own journals, thus leading to that recognition which 'Rājakāryapraṇava' Mr. N. S. Subba Rao hopes for it. The Journal has an excellent collection of articles by scholars of the University.

S. S.

Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I—By S. Srikantha Shastri, M.A.

Published by the University of Mysore, Mysore University
Historical Series. Price Rs. 3/-.

MR. S. SRIKANTHA SHASTRI is a scholar of the proper type for a work of this kind, which involves care and diligent research in collecting, editing and elucidating the numerous records including the literature of the Kannada Districts, which began nearly half a century ago but which for lack of systematic effort was lying idle. Narasimhachar's useful history of Kannada literature needed a separate work but left yet a desiderata for students of Karnāṭaka history. After a short and running historical account, with important references given in foot-notes, chronologically arranged, this volume gives extracts relating to the dynasties of the later Śātavahanas, the Gaṅgas of Talkad, the Kadambas of Banavāse, the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Māḷkhēḍ, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Kalacuryas of Kalyāṇi, and the Yadavas of Devagiri. Mr. Srikantha Shastri believes with me that the words in the Greek Drama of the second century A.D. contained in the Oxyrhyncus Papyri are not likely to be Kannada spoken on the West Coast of India as they fail to conform to the laws of the words of the Kannada language. Karnāṭaka is the heart of South India and occupies the central place in the Dakṣinapatha. The religious influences which moulded the life of the people were Jaina, Buddhist, Viśāiṣa and Brāhmaṇical. The principle of religious toleration is much in evidence until the thirteenth century. Karnāṭaka influence extended even over Northern India into Nepal where a King Nanyadeva is said to be of Karnāṭaka origin. The Sēnas of Bengal trace their descent from Samantasēna, a Karnāṭaka feudatory born in the family of Viśasēna. The Gahadawlas of Kanuj trace their descent from Nandapāla who became a king of Karnāṭaka. The Rathods of Jodhpur and Bikaner were also the descendants of Karnāṭaka rulers. The Gaṅgas and Kadambas of Kaṭiṅga similarly trace their descent from the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas of the Karnāṭaka. The Barbhujya Rājas of East Bengal came from Karnāṭaka. Thus in everything including administration and political history Karnāṭaka has made a very valuable contribution to Indian Culture.

S. S.

The Bombay Karnāṭak Inscriptions,—Vol. I. Part. I, with Introductory notes in English. Published by the Manager of Publications, New Delhi. Price Rs. 9-8-0.

ONE hundred and eighteen inscriptions belonging to the early Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Māḷkhēḍ and the Western Cālukyas of Bādāmi with a stray Pallava inscription of Narasimhaviṣṇu and some others are published in this work with seven plates. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription recording the gift of *gōsahasra* made by Echamma and Eṇevāsa at Beḷhoḍe, belonging to the reign of Prabhūtavarṣa Jagattuṅga, suggesting that *sahasra* is a variant Kannada *tadbhava* of *sāsa* though according to Kannada grammarians *sahasra* should be *sāsira*. In the *biruda* Raṭṭamārttāṇḍa applied to the king, *Raṭṭa* is a Dravidian word apparently sanscritised into Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and derived from the original family name of the kings of Māḷkhēḍ. *Raṭṭas* were Dravidians in stock, apparently, and their home may have been the Kannada country as suggested in the *Kavirājamūrga*. The bias for the chaste Kannada language current in the country between Muduvola and Kupaṇanagara cannot be ignored and the Kannada script is used in preference to Gujarāṭi or Vallabhī for signing as suggested in the work. Attiyabbe, daughter of Mallappayya and wife of Nāgadēva is credited with having constructed one thousand five hundred Jaina temples in different parts of the territory and this fact is corroborated by the Ajitapurāṇa and Gadāyuddha of Ranna who flourished in the Cālukyan court towards the end of the tenth century A.D. The Paṭṭadakal inscription discloses that the early Cālukyan kings celebrated their *Paṭṭabandhan* ceremony in the town of Kisuvola in consequence of which the place became famous. Number thirteen dated 869 refers itself to the reign of Nṛipatuṅga Amōghavarṣa I registering a gift of taxes on ghee made to the Mahājanas of Gāvaḍivāḍa when Dēvaṇṇayya was governing Beḷvola three hundred. Number nine of 862 A.D. refers to the king who is called Amōghavarṣa and Nṛipatuṅga-Vallabha. Number twenty-two at Mēvuṇḍi is engraved in characters of the eleventh century but is dated 879 A.D. Does it mean that so much time elapsed between the grant and its engraving if the characters are of the eleventh century or is it a

later copy of an early record as number thirty is suggested to be ? Number eighty-six apparently of 1050 A.D. is a Kannada inscription belonging to the reign of Triḷōkyamalla-Dēva (Sōmēśvara I) registering the gift of land to the Goddess by Akkāḍēvi, evidently a paternal aunt of Sōmēśvara, who was ruling over Kisukāḍu seventy, Bāgaḍage seventy, Māsiyavāḍi one hundred and seventy and other districts, made in the presence of her subordinate Mahāsāmanta Ajjarasa, who bears the birudas, Dvārāvātīpura-varēśvara Garuḍadhvaja and others, evidently a Yādava chief and is described as having defeated the Cōḷa, Āndhra, Magadha, Koṅkana, Māḷva, Pāñcāla and Lāḷa kings etc.

S. S.

Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture—By S. R. Sharma, Government of Bombay Kannada Research Grant Publication, Karnāṭaka Historical Research Society, Dharwar. Silver Jubilee Publication Series No. 1. Price Rs. 5/-, in India.

JAINISM and Karnāṭaka Culture by S. R. Sharma, with a foreword by Mr. Latthe, is the Silver Jubilee Publication Series No. 1 of the Karnāṭaka Historical Research Society, Dharwar and based on the author's thesis for a university degree. Both Jainism and the Karnāṭaka culture are among the least studied aspects of South Indian history and it is a satisfaction that gradually increasing attention is now given to their study. From the time of the migration of Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu with his disciple, the Emperor Candragupta Maurya, excluding the improbable tradition of Mahāvira himself travelling through South India in the course of a journey of conversion, to the early twelfth century when Bittideva the Hoysala emperor became a convert to Śrīvaiṣṇavism under the inspiring influence of Śrī Rāmānujacārya whence he became known as Viṣṇuvardhana (though recent researches show he was so known even before that conversion) and for a long time after, Jainism was the State religion in Mysore and had its stronghold on the people. It is said thousands and thousands of Jaina bastis were destroyed in the early years of the advent of Śrīvaiṣṇavism into the country, so much so in Dorasamudra itself

over eight hundred bastis were levelled to the ground. Exaggerations apart, Jainism did suffer from these onslaughts. A visitor to Mudabidre also will still find large vestiges of ancient Jaina hastis in ruins. The contribution of the Jainas,—many of whom were great sanskrit pandits,—to Karnāṭaka literature is remarkable both in output and in quality. The author quotes Dr. Saletore as indicating that Kundakunda was a Kannadiga but authority for this is lacking. Jainism must have gained ground after the Kadambas lost permanently in the Kannada country *i.e.* about the seventh or eighth century and the golden age of Jainism in Mysore was under the Gaṅgas and the early Hoysaḷas. The Cāḷukyas and some of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings patronized Jainism. With the advent of Basava, Jainism commenced rapidly to decline in numbers and in influence. The religious and social characteristics of Jainism as they were at the time of the introduction of that religion into the country is given in chapter III. The last chapter is devoted to Karnāṭaka culture. Whether the Karnāṭaka culture as such exists in the tattered Oriental culture or not, whether it is Buddhist, Brāhmaṇical, Provincial, Āryan or Dravidian we know not: the author says Jainism was sectarian in its mode of life. Ahimsa and toleration, the watch words of Jainism, have however, been woven into the warp and woof of Indian life and will never get out of it.

S. S.

Journal of Indian History—Special Number, Myalpore, Madras.

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR is one of the founders of the Mythic Society and for many years closely associated with the work of its journal. He is now its Honorary Vice-President. Naturally we are proud of the Special Number of the Journal of Indian History being associated with its chief Editor, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a recognized authority in Indian History and an author of very many noted and successful publications in various fields of South Indian History and research. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is a Mysorean who has earned great distinction in the service of the State and as I was privileged to observe on

a former occasion, it is a matter for gratification that this full fledged scholar's services were available in the wider fields of the Madras University. He has completed seventy years and we wish he will live to complete another thirty years at least and that on that happy occasion many of his friends and admirers would be alive to publish a volume comprising his great and monumental contributions to the study of Indian History.

S. S.

D. R. Bhandarkar Volume—Edited by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.R.G.S. Published by the Indian Research Institute, 170, Manicktolla Street, Calcutta.

THIS volume contains a number of interesting and highly scholarly articles by well-known writers. Dr. Bhandarkar is described as an archæological officer, a scholar and a professor. His work concerning Lakuliśa, originally a devotee of Śiva but afterwards raised to the rank of an incarnation of that deity, elicited much commendation even from Dr. Fleet. The discovery of the Mathura inscription of Candragupta II proved that Lakuli, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar was regarded by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as a path-finder in the trackless regions of the boundless fields of Indian, antiquarian researches. Dr. Ganganatha Jha considers whether Āryan invasion of India is a myth. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri regards the Tribhuvanam Sanskrit Inscription of Kulōttunga III found near the Tiruvidaimarūṭṭur Railway Station in the Tanjore District, as giving a full account of the construction and renovation of temples that marked the reign of that last great Cōḷa Emperor, Kulōttunga III Tribhuvanaviradeva. Dr. Shama Sastri says that Ayodhyā, the City of the Gods was both microcosmic and macrocosmic comprising the seven celestial circles and the seven dvipas or the eight circles in the terrestrial sphere corresponding from the Muladhara to *Bindu-triloka* in the human body. Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, the friend of Indra, is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the sun-god. He lives in Ayodhyā which is formed by the seven intercalary month-circles and becomes

nineteen years old and the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to be a development of an early Zodiacal myth. Abdul Āli accounts for the failure of Tipu Sultan whose vision emerges in tragic sublimity. He was a fearless warrior, an indefatigable worker and a man of cultured tastes. He possessed in an eminent degree the qualities that go to make an able ruler and a distinguished administrator. He inherited extensive territories and a replenished treasury. He maintained a large army and was surrounded on all sides by envious neighbours who dreaded him and his great power. He was continuously at war and hardly had time to consolidate his own position. The Nizam and the Peswa isolated him and joined the English in preparing for his downfall. If his diplomacy was a failure, it was not his fault for he was essentially a man of the sword and not a diplomat. Rao Saheb Srinivasa-chari deals with the essence of the Village Organization in South India at the Advent of British Rule and the Search of Manuscripts is the article by Amarnatha Jha in which he appeals to everybody to get hold of manuscripts wherever they can be got.

Chronicles, songs celebrating some popular ruler or warrior, descriptions of apparel and jewellery, accounts of popular pastimes, geographical divisions, social customs, details of the administrative system, growth and evolution of languages and literary forms—what a vast and varied possibility opens out before us! The identification of Yaśōvarman of Kanuj, the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vakpati is referred to by Ramakrishna Kavi. Mirashi brings New Light on the Mediæval History of Gujarat with reference to the Kaṭaccuris or Kālacuris of the seventh century A.D. Ramachandra Dikshitar refers to the Uttaramerūr grants, the famous documents which have considerably enlarged our knowledge of Cōḷa administration. Indian Aesthetics: A Critical Study by Adhikari takes us through the beautiful in nature. He writes on Elephant-lore, entitled *Hastāyurveda*, which is ascribed to Palakapya published in 1894. The Coming to Birth of the Spirit is the heading of an arresting article by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. The Indian doctrine of paligenesis is correctly expressed by the Buddhist statement that in reincarnation nothing passes over from one embodiment to another, the continuity being only

such as can be seen when one lamp is lighted from another ; that the terms employed for rebirth are used in at least three easily distinguishable senses : (i) with respect to the transmission of physical and psychic characteristics from father to son, *i.e.* with respect to paligenesis in a biological sense, defined as the reproduction of ancestral characters without change, (ii) with respect to a transition from one to another plane of consciousness effected in one and the same individual and generally one and the same life, *viz.* that kind of rebirth which is implied in the saying ' Except ye be born again ' and of which the ultimate term is deification and (iii) with respect to the motion or peregrination of the spirit from one body-and-soul to another, which motion necessarily takes place whenever one such a compound vehicle dies or another is generated, just as water might be poured out of one vessel into the sea, and dipped out by another, being always water, but never, except in so far as the vessel seems to impose a temporary identity and shape on its contents, properly a water ; and thirdly that no other doctrines of rebirth are taught in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad Gita than are already explicit and implicit in the R̥gvēda. In the Racial Affinity between the Brahuīs and the Dravidians, Roy observes that the Brahui language belongs to the Dravidian stock of languages and that the Dravidian speaking areas are situated in the south of India with a few patches in the Central Provinces and Bengal. The only small island of Dravidian speaking area lies far away in Baluchistan and it is surrounded on all sides by the Indo-Āryan languages. According to him the physical features of the Mediterranean and the Original Brahui and the Dravidian are the same. Apart from the dark colour of the skin there, many points of resemblance between the Mediterranean and the Dravidian which point to an ancient connection apparently due to common origin are noticeable. A group of the Mediterranean people entered India through the North West Frontier before they got mixed up with the Indo-Afghans and the Homo-Alpinus. The Brahuīs though they have undergone some modifications represent the old Mediterranean people who migrated to the south of India. There are some relics of the old material culture still present which

suggests the connection of both. These views however require further examination. The basket number 8819 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta which comes from the North West Frontier is almost similar to basket number 88 that comes from Madras and number 7597 from the Nilgiris. They are the same in technique, material, form etc. The languages, physical features, Mohenjodaro skulls, material cultures, all point to the same conclusion that the Brahuīs are racially related to the Dravidians. Heras refers to Proto-Indian Representation of the Fertility God and draws his inferences and conclusions from the Proto-types found in Mohenjodaro. Dorothy Stede writes on the Role of Alankāra in Indian Philosophy. Otto Strauss writes on Jiva and Paramātmā making some observations on their unity in difference, *bhedābheda*, with Vedānta. There is, of course, a way to reconcile the different opinions: the one lays the stress on the difference between the Jiva and Paramātmā in life, the other on the possible unity after life. Śaṅkara was interested in *bhedābheda* as may be seen not only in his *Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣya* but also in the *Brahmasūtras*. The attempt to draw some conclusions from the nature of similes which have occurred in the discussion have been made in a tentative manner: nevertheless certain observations will be possible. Thus the high antiquity of the idea that only a quarter of the divinity is contained in the visible world as the quotation comes from the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *R̥gvēda*. Śaṅkara's distinction between *para* and *apara* vidyā was no more than a systematizing of these two views. It was in this way that he succeeded in making the uncompromising *advaita* of *Gaudapāda* practicable for the many while in its original form it was naturally restricted to the few. By reducing the difference to everyday experience of the adjuncts by which all are originated by nescience he preserved the absolute unity and still remained able reasonably to explain the *sūtrakāra*'s utterances about *bhedābheda*. The Greek Kingdoms and Indian Literature is dealt with by Keith. Sophocles reached India and the argument is based on the existence of a fragment of a vase found near Peshawar on which is the scene from the *Antigone* in which Haemon begs Creon for the life of Antigone. That there has been contact with the Greek Drama is a perfectly legitimate assumption,

but that it had an effect on Indian dramatists is the point on which there is no evidence. Indians were so rooted in their own civilization as to be largely impervious to Greek civilization. We have little evidence that even in such places as were perhaps organized as Greek cities Indians desired to accept the role of citizens. We must therefore dismiss as unproved and wholly improbable the idea of Indian citizens of Greek cities, leaving to the future to determine exactly what the name of description Dhammayana at Karli denotes. The Art and Science of Architecture is discussed by P. K. Acharya. On Tayin, Tayi and Tadi, Bapat says that these words were used often in Buddhist sanskrit books and in later Jaina works. Ray Chaudhuri in his article Proto-types of Śiva in Western Asia invites the attention of scholars to certain common features in religious beliefs of the ancient peoples of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and India which may serve to elucidate certain points in the history of those mythological beliefs that came to be associated with the worship of Śiva and the great Devī in the Vēdic, epic, and puranic ages. The volume is a complete and appropriate presentation volume dedicated to a scholar whose name will ever be remembered in the field of Ancient Indian History.

S. S.

The Silver Jubilee Number of the Astrological Magazine—Edited by
B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S. Malleswaram P.O. Bangalore.
Price Re. 1.

THIS number contains a very interesting account of its founder the late Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao. Concerning the future of the dictators the editor says that a careful examination of the horoscopes of Hitler and Mussolini indicates unmistakable symptoms that a new Germany and a new Italy are painfully groping their way to the consciousness of the people in those countries. Saturn's debilitation in Aries no doubt gave a good blow to democracy, but Saturn's leaving Aries is likely to revive democracy and produce different effects on the future course of world events. In the course of Saturn emerging out of Taurus and Jupiter approaching Cancer, a new world order as conceived by Great Britain, in which Hitler and Mussolini will have no place, is likely to become a

reality.. According to Sukla India is governed by Saturn representing the upheaval, revolution, way-wardness, anarchy and eccentricities in various forms. The world number in general from 1941 is fifteen *i.e.* six, effecting the world with adjustments through wars, peace, co-operation, sympathy and reciprocity. This Jubilee Number contains a variety of articles with innumerable facts together with articles of absorbing interest.

S. S.

Astrology for Beginners—By B. V. Raman, M.R.A.S. Published by the Author, Malleswaram, P.O. Bangalore. Price. Re. 1.

MR. B. V. RAMAN, the grandson of the well-known astrologer, the late B. Suryanarayana Rao tries in this small brochure to fix the interest of the reader in astrology. We have reviewed his books in these pages before and we have no hesitation in saying that this brochure maintains the high reputation which he has secured for himself. It is a handy useful booklet giving information to a person about himself, his relations, his judgment, the various influences which each planet might exercise on him at different periods of his life, in a simple, readable and analytical form.

S. S.

Rāmāyana and Lanka, Parts I & II—By T. Paramasiva Iyer, 'White House' Albert Victor Road, Bangalore City. Price Rs. 3-12.

MR. T. PARAMASIVA IYER the author of the well-known Riks has dedicated this work to his elder brother the late Justice Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer of revered memory. Himself a scholar of considerable ability and acumen, he has most carefully studied and sifted the material available by patient research, critical spirit and impartial examination which are most commendable. Paramasiva Iyer, now a venerable, old and most respected gentleman of advanced years, felt nearly twenty years ago that the Ayodhyā, Āraṇya, and Kiṣkindha kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa might contain genuine historical matter and that these kāṇḍas deserved critical examination to ascertain if Vālmiki's epic had a historic substratum and if the sage stood a test of loyalty to truth. From a reference

to his geography and from the Survey of India standard sheets, he found that Vālmiki's Tāmasa, Vedaśruti, Gōmati, Syandika and Srīngaverapura on the north bank of the Ganges corresponded to the Tons, Biswi, Gunti, Sai and Singraur of the map. This raised a strong presumption that Vālmiki's itinerary of Rāma, beyond Singraur, and right up to Lanka, was perhaps equally reliable. After a study of the relevant materials for over two years he felt satisfied that the Rāmāyaṇa was in substance a credible record of the struggle of the Āryans and Gonds for Janasthan, the populous, fertile, black-soiled, high level plain of the Damoh district, 800 square miles in extent and watered by the lower reaches of the Sonar river and of its tributaries, the Kapra to the right and the Bewas to the left. Thereupon he was successful about 1926 in his endeavour to convince his brother that these conclusions were right. It is interesting to remark that in the campu Rāmāyaṇa of King Bhoja Ceylon or Simhala was never mixed with Rāvaṇa's Lanka on the Trikuta Hill and from the days of Guṇāḍya and Śatavāhanas Simhala was a civilised Buddhist kingdom famous for its precious stones. In the Ratnāvalī of Śrī Harṣa (608-48) Simhala occurs half a dozen times and the word Lanka does not appear even once though Harṣa was familiar with the Rāmāyaṇa and refers to Meghananda's temporary triumph over Lakṣmaṇa and the Vānara hosts. Ceylon is indicated in sarga 41, Kiṣkhinda as the abode of the wicked Rāvaṇa, glorious in India, not named but described as an island opposite the Mahendra mountain which Agastya had fixed in the sea where Tambraparni enters it near Pāṇḍyakavata or Kolkao. Ceylon was faked into Lanka in the eleventh century A.D. after the great military and naval successes of the Cōḷas in the latter half of the tenth century. The Cōḷas claimed the solar descent and during their dominance in Ceylon the Simhala king and his army were made out to be Rāvaṇa and his Rākṣasa hosts. Whether Ceylon was called Ila, Ilangi or Lanka is a matter for consideration. The faking of Adam's bridge into Nalasetu and the consequential changes in the starting point of Rāvaṇa's expedition from the Kolkao harbour to Dhanuskoti was probably synchronous with the consecration of the Rāmeśvara Lingam and the erection of

the great Rāmeśvara temple in the island of Rāmeśvaram. Paramasiva Iyer also thinks that in the Rāmāyaṇa the great and righteous Rāma is audaciously exploited to discredit the great and good Buddha. In Ayodhyā sarga 109, verse 34, Rāma says: 'as a thief, so surely is Buddha: know that Tatagatha is an atheist,' such was the *odium theologicum* in India in the old days which began with Puśyamitra and Patanjali. So, between Sugrīva and Rāma speaking through an interpreter, the island of Ceylon became Lanka on the Trikuta, the Buddhist Simhalese and their Mahendra bright ruler became Rāvaṇa and his Rākṣasas, and the Buddha himself a thief and an atheist rolled into one. The author says that Ceylon cannot possibly be the Lanka of the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāma's journey from Ayodhyā to Śarabhaṅga's hermitage at the junction of Sarvabhaṅga and Paisuni rivers is given in chapter XIV. From Singraur in the north bank of the Ganges the text takes us through Prayag, the sacred Banian tree on the south bank of Jumna, Citrakut hill, Atri's hermitage, Viradha's burial pit and Śarabhaṅga's hermitage. Singraur and Citrakut were well-known places identified with Srīngaverapura and Citrakuta of the Rāmāyaṇa. Prayag was then part of the bed of a great lake or sāgara formed by the meeting of the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna. The sacred Banyan tree that grew near Bar Dewal at Katra was apparently destroyed by Muhammad of Ghazni. Anusuya hill, nine miles south of Citrakuta is Atri's hermitage of the text. Biradhkund of the Topo map three miles south of Anusuya hill, is the pit where Rākṣasa Viradha was buried by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Śarabhaṅga's hermitage, a *yojan* and more to the south of Biradhkund lay at the junction of Śarabhaṅga and Paisuni rivers at the north foot of the Panna range and Vindhya and the Saivala which enclosed the Dandaka forest according to Agastya were the Panna range on the north and Vindhya to the south. Rāma and Rāvaṇa took the same way from Pañcavati to Lanka, Rāvaṇa in his chariot and Rāma on foot. It also appears that both Rāvaṇa and Rāma met striking features of landmarks on their way, the Pampa lake, the Rṣyamuka hill, the Mahendra hill, and the latter a part of the Vindhya ranges. Trikuta

crowned with Lanka rises between the Vindhya range and the Narbāda river. The sāgara below the Mahendra or Vindhya was crossed by Rāvaṇa, Hanuman and Rāma in succession. Rāvaṇa drove in an ass-drawn chariot, Hanuman swam across it and Rāma had it bridged by Naḷa. The map at page 104 gives the route from Ayodhyā to Lanka which is referred to in the text and the survey of India map from Pampa Saras to Lanka is also given. Whether we agree or disagree with these views we must compliment the versatile author. His criticisms of the epic are very clear and level-headed. We appeal to Sanskrit scholars and those interested in the subject to study the subject-matter as critically and as fully as the author.

S. S.

The Poetry of Vālmiki—By Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Gavipuram, Basavanagudi P.O. Bangalore. Price Rs. 3-12-0.

The best parts of the Rāmāyaṇa are given in the form of a literary appreciation by Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar. As he says the book is intended to introduce the work of Vālmiki and his literature in a manner made familiar by study at school and college to the modern reader. There is no boy or girl in a Hindu home, and may I say in an Indian home, who has not heard of the heroic Rāma or the pure and lovely Sīta and anything which is written about Śrī Rāmacandra or Sīta is bound to appeal to Indians, of whatever race, caste, creed or sect. The work is correctly estimated as the Poetry of Vālmiki, India's first poem, under different heads; the Origin of the Rāmāyaṇa, later additions to the poem, the story of the six books, the household of Daśaratha, the manner of the narrative which leads Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with Sīta to the forest, the pursuit of the golden deer and various incidents which happened in the progress of the pursuit of Rāma after Sīta to Lanka including the Vāli episode, Sīta's ordeal and so on, interspersed with descriptions of nature and the civilization and culture of the time and ends with India's mission, philosophy and action. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are a part and parcel of the Hindu life and religion. The atmosphere is apparently

Indian and Vālmiki is described as a sage who might belong to any age in any country. Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu and it is said that Rāmāyaṇa is of the post-Vedic period when the Indo-Āryans having extended their conquests and cultural influences eastward and southward from the Punjab towards the coast of the salt-sea came into contact with communities of settlers who had been strongly influenced by western Asian and Neolithic cultures. During the post-Vedic period the religious beliefs of the mingled peoples underwent a profound change. Indra and Varuṇa were overshadowed by Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the goddesses who had been but shadowy figures in the Vedic literature rose into prominence. The colour of Rāma was blue, the sacred colour. Sita is the incarnation of Lakṣmi, the wife of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is the most humane God of the Hindu pantheon. In the Rāmāyaṇa, we fancy, we meet with a different stage of Indian civilization from that found in the Māhābhārata. The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki is an allegory closely connected with the revival of Brāhmaṇism. He (Vālmiki) appears to have utilized an ancient legend of the hero Rāma, who invaded Southern India and reached Ceylon impressing into use ancient hero-songs that had gathered round the hero to whose memory were attached the traditions of the southward drift of the northern peoples, the mingled descendants of the Āryan invaders of the Punjab, of the settlers on the sea-coast, and the various Dravidian tribes that had absorbed the complex culture of Brahminized India. In the cultural period reflected by the Rāmāyaṇa the easterners had absorbed the Brāhmaṇic doctrines of the middle country. As the Brāhmaṇ priests were found to be supreme and were acting as mediators between God and mankind, no one could offer sacrifices without their aid: kings and commoners submitted to their sway even in their family affairs. A high moral tone pervades the Rāmāyaṇa and Rāma as Manu says observed his moral and religious duties strictly. As a poem delineating the softer emotions of our everyday life, the Rāmāyaṇa sends its roots deeper into the hearts and minds of the millions of India. It teaches the hopelessness of victory without purity of soul and abnegation of self—a lesson most welcome under the trying conditions of the present-day warfare.

A special feature of Vālmiki's skill in narration is the frequency with which the story exposes man's helplessness in the grip of circumstance. It has been stated that Daśaratha tried to install Rāma as Yuvarāja in Bharata's absence with a view to avoid trouble. That many are the innocents who have come to harm through others' offences is illustrated in the Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmiki's store of words is like the ocean's store of the waters. Red-lipped Sīta was the companion of Rāma the broad-chested, blue-coloured hero in the practice of dharma. Culture is of worth as shaping character and an essential part of character lies in the behaviour of man and woman as man and woman. The notes of the Rāmāyaṇa by Venkatesa Iyengar are simple, appealing and correct. He puts some questions in the end and answers them. Rāma at all moments of his life thought of good in all life. To a person not inclined to unquestioning belief and infinite subtlety in the manner of orthodox schools, nor on the other hand to question everything about the poem in a spirit of almost merciless detachment in the manner of a western critic, the position expounded by either class seems extreme. Rāmāyaṇa should be read as any similar poem from another people and civilization to be rewarded in the reading. Whether Lanka is somewhere in Central India or elsewhere does not matter. The kernel of the story provides sufficient information about the adventures of Rāma, his noble qualities and everything that should be worth reading for. Vālmiki was an inspired genius and was a teacher in the highest sense of the term. To an instinct for understanding and describing life he added a wide sympathy and keen insight into the ways of the world and in consequence walked with a firm step to the presence of truth. • If the desire for property and for a hold over men is conquered it is easy for man to conquer the hearts of his fellowmen; he is exalted above empires and is wise with the wisdom that belongs only to the sages. Sex desire is the desire which, if you do not conquer it, leads you as it led Daśaratha to set your life's boat adrift on the waters of tribulation: like the royal sage who lost his heart to Menaka and could gratify his desire only by abandoning his great purpose or the king of Lanka who had known many women brought from all over the world for their beauty, yet had his lust awake as ever, ending in his

ruin. These complexes are elemental and have grown with man's nature. It is India's mission to help you to conquer it. It is the philosophy of action that took shape in the Bhagavadgita. Man fulfils the law of his being by refusing self-seeking even in this covert form, and enduring loss as well as gain for the sake of others. A man may be a king and yet not be thinking of the comforts of kingship but rather of its duties. He then secures in the midst of plenty the peace of soul that comes only on real renunciation.

S. S.

Introduction to Sai Baba of Shirdi and Śrī Sai Baba's Characters and Sayings—By B. V. Narasimhaswamy, 74, Lloyds Road, Mylapore, Madras. Price As. 0-2-0 and As. 0-12-0 respectively.

B. V. NARASIMHASWAMY the author is entitled to our gratitude for the illuminating account which he gives of the celebrated sage, Sai Baba. Sai Baba, though not in physical body, is a living personality today with numerous devotees both amongst the Hindus and the Muhammadans. His eminence is clear to those who have read his Characters and Sayings which is edited and published by Narasimhaswamy with a foreword by Justice M. B. Rege. Any page of the book concerning the life of Śrī Sai Baba and his teachings and sayings shows that through his influence there was no lack of food and clothing. Many instances of these are given in the Characters and Sayings of Sai Baba.

Shirdi is about eleven miles from Kopergaon Railway station and about fourteen miles from Chitali station on the Dhond-Mannda line, G. I. P. and is reachable by bus. Hot-water baths, meals and lodging for visitors who go for the darśan of Baba's Samadhi can be had by previous intimation to the Chief Clerk, Sai Samsthanam, Shirdi, Rahata, P. O. Ahamadnagar District. We appeal to our readers to get a copy of Śrī Sai Baba's Sayings and Characters for themselves and realise the value of Sai Baba's sayings.

S. S.

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

Jātaka Tatva, Jātakālāṃkara and Shatpancasika—By Panditabhushana V. Subramanya Sastri, B.A., 65, III Cross Road, Basavanagudi P. O. Bangalore. Price Rs. 5-4-0; Re. 1-8-0 and Re. 1-0-0 respectively.

THESE are three more works translated by Panditabhushana V. Subramanya Sastri, translator, of several astrological works of note. Jātaka Tatva, in which the author depicts the method of instruction by sutra and not by slokas, classifying the results under different heads for purposes of easy reference and connecting medicine with astrology suggesting thereby that the knowledge of astrology if judiciously applied has not merely a theoretical value but is also practical in its application. Mahadeva its author knew medicine and he worshipped Pārvaṭi, imbibed ideas from Varahamira, Kalyāṇa Varma, Vaidyanātha Dikṣita and others but made the knowledge thus gained his own. The five elements, perhaps, are concerned with the pancabhutas composing the human body and the foundation being the Prithī tatva, it is enunciated first followed by Sutikā tatva as water follows prithī. Prakirana tatva is the biggest and if this is removed, the world suffers extinction, just as our body suffers extinction if tejas is removed from it. Strī Jātaka is apparently concerned with Vayu as Vayu presides over Venus, a female planet and the Daśa tatva brings the work to a close. The work is illustrated with the horoscopes of the late Mahārāja of Mysore, and a former Dewan of Mysore, the late Pradhana Sirōmani T. Ananda Rao.

Śrī Gaṇeśa is the author of Jātakālāṃkara, a small work of seven chapters containing one hundred and ten slokas. Beautiful sanskrit words which are synonyms for numbers add to the delight of the reader. Anantesa in sloka seven of chapter six is worth mentioning wherein īśa is a very pleasing choice as number eleven goes. The author's period appears to be in the reign of the Mughal Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. The work is instructive, simple, helpful, describing the several houses of the solar mansions with respect to the native from the ascendant onwards in relation to

every other house and the individual or conjunctiopal appearance of the planets in the several houses. The results as they would arise from the conjunction of one planet with another, benefic or malefic are also given and the author describes himself in the last verse as the son of Gopal, one of the three sons of Kanhajee, a Mahendra among astrologers belonging to the Bhāradvāja family, a repository of the Vēdas and the codes of law and an ornament to the assembly of the learned and shining like the morning star in the court of the Guzerat king.

‘ Śatpancaśika contains fifty-six slokas by *Prithuyasas* himself, the son of Varahamira, one of the nine gems of Vikramāditya. A preliminary knowledge of astrology is necessary to master the first two chapters of the Brihat Jātaka. The name and the number of verses are identical with the fifty-six countries beginning from Anga onwards comprised in all Hindusthan. Chapter two is concerned with marching and returning, three with success and defeat, four good and bad, five enquiry of one who is abroad, and six recovery of lost articles, how these have to be told with reference to preliminary astrology. Sun, moon, mars, mercury, venus, jupiter, and saturn denote respectively a sucking child, a boy, a celibate, an adult, a middle-aged man, an old man, and a very old man thus indicating the age of the thief in chapter six. The caste of the thief is determined from the caste of the planet.

S. S.

SANSKRIT

The Mahābhārata—Fascicule 10, Udyogaparvan (2) Critically edited—By

S. K. De. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

MAHĀBHĀRATA, Udyogaparvan (2), Fascicule 10, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar with the co-operation of a number of Oriental scholars and illustrated from ancient models by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh maintains the standard set for it by its promoters and this fascicule number ten is critically edited by Sushil Kumar De, Professor of Sanskrit, Dacca University. A number of manuscripts has been as usual utilized for this edition. Of the commentaries available for the

Udyogaparvaṇ, six of them were published from the Gujarati Printing Press, that of Devabodha being the earliest deserving the foremost consideration, as it is in the nature of a gloss on difficult words and phrases and helpful in the constitution of the critical text. We join the editor in his admiration of the organized team work and of the arduous task of the individual editor for the conscientious care and critical notes, for the collection of manuscripts, for vigilant proof reading, for the general assistance received and for the supervision of collations and for the unflagging zeal and prolonged scholarship of the General Editor with which this endeavour abounds.

S. S.

Ślōkavartikavyākhyam (Tātparyāṭika) of Bhaṭṭabekā—Edited by
S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Madras University Sanskrit Series
No. 13. Price Rs. 6-8-0.

DR. KUNHAN RAJA is entitled to our gratitude for the publication of this work No. 13 in the Madras University Sanskrit Series. Ślōkavartika by Uṁveka is based on a single manuscript now in the Adyar Library, in the palm leaf and in Malayalam characters. The manuscript is very old but the writing is very legible. Pandit Ramanatha Sastri edited the first forty-eight formes and the rest is completed by Dr. Kunhan Raja. Where a portion was found missing in the manuscript the gap has been filled up with the corresponding portion from the Kāśika of Sucaritamisra. The editor is of opinion that the work of Uṁveka quoted in recent times and his relationship with well-known authors of works in Vēdanta and Mimamsa is not helpful in finding out his date. Is Mandana or Visvarupa, who was popularly known as Uṁveka identical as propounded by Vidyaraṇya? The tradition is very strong and cannot be easily set aside, namely the identity of Mandana, Visvarupa and Suresvara.

S. S.

Srīmat Sanatsujātiyam with the Commentary of Sri Vādirājaswami—

Edited by B. Gururajah Rao, B.A., B.L. Published by the
Srīman Madhva Sangha, Bangalore. Price Re. 1-0-0.

As the editors of the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute say the commentary of Śaṁkara comprises practically every word of the text commented upon making it easy to fix the version. Śaṁkara follows the southern recension but it cannot be said that in overlooking the Malayalam recension he has accepted the best southern tradition. Śaṁkara was eclectic but he apparently took the text which was available to him and did not think it necessary to concern himself with the various versions and recensions in order to establish the original readings in every case. His text is undoubtedly older than the oldest of the extant Mahābhārata manuscripts. But he does not refer to the commentary of Vādirājaswami. Srīmat Mahābhārata relates to the great war in which all war-like races of Northern India took a share, and it was fought apparently in the thirteenth or fourteenth century B.C. If so, its main incidents must have been sung by bards and minstrels in the courts of Northern India and then in the passage of time all the floating mass of tales, traditions, legends and myths for which ancient India was so famous found a shelter under the expanding wings of this wonderful epic and as the Kṛṣṇa worship became the prevailing religion of India after the decay of Buddhism, the old epic caught the complexion of the times, and the Kṛṣṇa-cult became its dominating religious idea in its present shape. The leading incidents and characters of the real epic are still discernible uninjured by the mass of foreign substance in which they are embedded. Sanatsujātiyam in the Udyogaparvan is concerned with the sublime message of salvation imparted to Dritarāstra, the father of Duryodhana, by Sanatsujāta, also called Sanatkumāra. While Śaṁkara considers final liberation as the realization of the identity of the soul with Brāhman, Vādirājaswami whose commentary is here published considers the whole of Sanatsujātiya in the light of dualism emphasising the essential difference between the *Jīva* and *Paramātma*. In any way the kernel of the teaching is the realization of the transcendence of life and its miseries and regarding birth and death, the choice of samsāra and the

desire to be liberated from it. The relation between *Jīva* and *Paramātmā* is ever-lasting and is eternal and continuous as the Universe itself. They are identical according to Śaṅkara though they appear as different in this phenomenal world as separate entities. *Māna* is attachment to the world and *Mouna* is the essence of the Śāstric wisdom. *Tapas* leads to liberation, free from lust and anger and so on. The *Ariṣadvargas* must be warded off from us like a noxious reptile. Vanity and abandonment of material pleasure is the most difficult to attain. Development of moral qualities and the requisite of the proper performance of *Tapas* enriches the mind and builds the character of the pupil while he is with his guru. The guru endows the *śiṣya* with a spiritual body which is imperishable and immortal and which enables him to reach Brahman. Knowledge of Brahman is the only way to salvation. This epitome of philosophy is beautifully elucidated by the splendid commentary of Vādirājaswami and we congratulate Srīman Mādhva Sangha and its President Mr. Gururajah Rao for publishing this excellent work.

S. S.

The Advaitasiddhi with the Gurucandrika. Vol. III.—Edited by Vidwan S. Narayanaswami Sastri, Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series No. 80. Copies available from the Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore. Price Rs. 2-4-0.

VOLUME three of the Advaitasiddhi with the Gurucandrika has been edited by Vidwan Narayanaswami Sastri in the Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series. The earlier volumes have already been reviewed in these pages.

S. S.

Bhāsa Nāṭaka Cakram—Edited by Professor C. R. Devadhar, M.A. Fergusson College, Poona. Price Rs. 6-0-0.

THIS is a critical edition of the thirteen plays of Bhāsa by Prof. C. R. Devadhar, published under the Poona Oriental Series. The book contains a short preface, an introduction, text of the thirteen dramas and five valuable appendices. All students of Sanskrit are

indebted to Prof. Devadhar for this work. The proprietors of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, deserve our congratulations on the excellent volume they have brought out.

The thirteen Sanskrit plays discovered and published for the first time by the late Mahamahōpādhyāya T. Ganapati Sastri is a great asset to the Sanskrit world. Though, the late Mr. Sastri ascribed them to Bhāsa, many scholars of both East and West have evinced a keen interest in the problem and written on their authorship. The Bhāsa problem still remains unsolved these three decades. For one school holds that these thirteen dramas unearthed by the late Mr. Ganapati Sastri, are the works of Bhāsa, the great poet who is supposed to have lived prior to Kālidāsa: while another regards the plays in question as of doubtful authenticity, uncertain in date and in all probability as the works of a later poet Keraḷa. A third considers these dramas the abridged versions of probably the original dramas of Bhāsa.

The present editor believes that the plays in question cannot be the works of Bhāsa at all. Svapnavāsavadatta discovered by the late Mr. Ganapati Sastri is not the genuine work of Bhāsa, and it is by no means certain that the plays could be the production of one writer: they are a heterogeneous group, and cannot be regarded as the work of the poet of Svapnavāsavadatta and therefore of Bhāsa. These views are supported from Sylvain Levi and M. Winternitz's writings. In the introduction while summarising the different views expressed on the Bhāsa problem, the author has referred the readers to his essay on "Plāyś ascribed to Bhāsa, their authenticity and merits," refraining from discussing them and giving his own views. We look forward with great interest therefore to the critical introduction in the second volume containing translation and explanatory notes for each of the plays, which is already under preparation.

The editor has consulted most of the available manuscript material and various editions of the plays so far published in preparing the present volume, removed greatly the obscurities and the conjectural readings of the first edition of the dramas, added a brief summary of the plot to each of the dramas

in Sanskrit and followed it up by *Ślōkānukramani* and helped us by his scholarship and critical powers. Five appendices : (i) a consolidated metrical index, very analytically represented, (ii) a collection of anomalous forms, (iii) a list of citations from all works wherein references are made to Bhāsa and his works, (iv) a list of stanzas attributed to Bhāsa in the anthologies but not found in the existing texts, and (v) a glossary of rare expressions employed in the dramas are of great use and help to the students of Sanskrit.

M. P. L. S.

KANNADA

Mysurina Āṭida Mahāsvāmiyavarāda Nālmadi Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyaravaru—By M. Singariah, 'Narayana Cottage' Krishnarāja Mohalla, Mysore.

MR. SINGARIAH, the author of the life of Śrī Chamarāja Wadiyar of revered memory, has written in simple and elegant Kannada the life of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar IV, the late illustrious Mahārāja of Mysore. It is dedicated to the present Mahārāja of Mysore and contains an introduction by Rājasabhabhūshana T. Thamboo Chetty. The inspiring life of the late Mahārāja improves with every narration. His life and work during the last thirty-eight years of his reign, his love of dharma, his equanimity, his holding of the balance of justice, his affection for the people, his deep and wide taste for music and the fine arts, and his wonderful perspective made him a Rājārṣi and he shed lustre on the Yadu Race. He gave his best to his country and was a pattern for the rulers of India. Anything said about this great vēdāntin, philosopher and God-fearing individual whose blameless life was continuously before us is ever welcome to an Indian house especially. The work is beautifully illustrated and deserves to be a textbook in the educational institutions of the State.

S. S.

Nālmadi Krishnana Mysuru—By C. K. Jayasimha Rao, Mahārāja's College, Mysore.

NĀLMADI Krishnana Mysuru (Mysore of Krishnarāja IV) is a small pamphlet in Kannada by C. K. Jayasimha Rao, giving an account of Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar IV, the late Mahārāja of Mysore. As Professor Rollo says in his foreword practically the first half of the twentieth century in Mysore will show immense difference in every sphere of life and activity in the State between its beginning and its end. The many schemes not thought of then but now flourishing and promising a yet greater prosperity, the increasing regard shown for the common people, their civic, economic and political condition, are all due to the Mahārāja's rule and personality, make for the grand story of his life.

S. S.

History of Kannada Literature—By Praktana Vimarsa Vichaksana Mahāmahōpadhyāya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Published by the University of Mysore. Price Re. 1-0-0.

THE late Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar's views contained in the Readership Lectures of the University of Mysore on the History of Kannada Literature, now published are very valuable and are introductory to his history of the Kannada Language. Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from about the fifth century A.D. indicating an older stage of language than that found in Kavirajamarga of the ninth century. The Karnāṭaka language was not unemployed to express scientific matters as we find in the great work called Cūdamani, 96,000 vetse measures in extent, a commentary on Tattvarthamahasastra. The existence of archaic forms in the inscriptions prior to the Nripatunga period and not found in Kavirajamarga and the works that followed it imply that the language was old, *e.g.* Chickmagalur 50 and 92, Śravanabelgoḷa 27 and Kadur 45, show the use of the lengthened form of the use of the locative suffix *ul* for the later *ol*, the large use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the accusative even when followed by the consonant, the use of *u* for the later bindu and the use of the later short vowel instead of the long in *tappada* and *kiriya*

and the general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the conjugational suffixes. It is thus seen that the literature of Kannada is of far greater antiquity than that of any other South Indian, or for that matter any other Indian, Vernacular except perhaps that of Tamil. The extent and range of Kannada literature is given and it cannot now be said that Kannada was a minor dialect in the Dravidian country.

S. S.

Nāgavarma's Kavyāvalokanam—Edited by H. R. Rangaswami Aien-
gar, M.A. Published by the University of Mysore. Copies can
be had from the Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore.
Price Re. 1-8-0.

NĀGAVARMA'S Kavyāvalokanam a standard Kannada work on alaṅkāra and comprehensively dealing with grammar in the Kannada language now reprinted by the University of Mysore was first published in 1882 with a Kannada commentary by Mallappa. The late Mr. Rice translated the sutras with an introduction for the use of European scholars. The work is copiously illustrated from prior or contemporary Kannada poets. The first chapter is devoted to a brief exposition of the grammar of the Kannada language. The second deals with errors in composition, the third with the merits or excellence of it, the fourth with style and the last with poetical compositions. The work is preceded by Kavirajamarga of the early ninth century and Udayādityālaṅkāra which belongs to the close of the eleventh century and it is not unlikely that the author was aware of these earlier works. It is a matter of gratification that the copious introduction of the late Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar is reprinted in this edition.

S. S.

Prabhulinga Leeleya Sangraha of Chamarasa—Edited by M. S. Basava-
lingaiya and M. R. Srinivasamurthi, Mysore University
Kannada Grantha Mala Series No. 3.

Jiva Vijnāna—By B. Venkatanaranappa, Mysore University Kannada
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Grantha Mala Series No. 13.

Hadibadeya Dharma of Honnamma—By Srimati Champa Bai, Mysore
University Kannada Grantha Mala Series No. 14. Price—
Ordinary bind As. 0-12-0, Calico bind Re. 1-4-0 each. Copies
can be had from the Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore.

The University Kannada Grantha Mala Series are published by an editorial committee with Rājasēvāsakta B. M. Srikantia, as the Chief Editor. The names of the editors are a guarantee of the trouble taken in collecting and sifting matter and in arrangement and in careful edition. The range of the publications confirms us in our belief which we have always held that it ought not to be difficult to impart instruction in the University through the medium of Kannada. Kannada Sahitya Parishat has been doing remarkably good work in that direction and these works are indicative of the success of the attempt to put before the Kannada public up-to-date information available in arts and in science, concisely, clearly, accurately and invitingly.

Prabhulinga Leeleya Sangraha is a Kannada work more than four and a half centuries old, of Chamarasa, who is said to have defeated in linguistic disputation both the Vaiṣṇava acārya Mukunda Peddi and the Smārtha poet Kumāra Vyāsa and belonging to the period of Praudharāya in whose time many temples were resuscitated in South India. The introduction gives the story concisely in a manner comparable to the Pilgrims Progress. Prabhulinga Leele has been translated into Telugu, Tamil, Sanskrit and Marathi, a fact of which Kannada literature can well be proud. It is also found in campu.

Jīva Vijnāna is written by Rājasēvāsakta Professor B. Venkatanaranappa. The science of life requires continuous, consistent and careful study and Professor Venkatanaranappa invariably adorns what he touches. A Professor of Physics, Physiology and Physiography in the Central College, a person who managed hostels as a house-holder manages his home, a purist but faithfully

devoted to his task-master through life, Professor Venkatanaranappa in his retirement is devoted to the growth of Kannada and has made this work as thorough as himself. He does no wrong, brooks no nonsense, as is well-known. The present position of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat is his making. The English-Kannada dictionary is making rapid progress. More than twenty-three years ago he brought out a periodical in Kannada, *Vijñāna* or science, unfortunately short-lived but the studies which were then started have borne ample fruit, perhaps unforeseen by its author but of which we are all proud and satisfied. In the present work the ameba, men, insects and the vegetable kingdom, their action and reaction are all dealt with and the pathological aspects are not neglected. In the contents it is interesting to notice the author gives reference to pages not merely of each heading but for each subject dealt with. The age of the universe, the origin of man, his present development, the development of our knowledge of the origin of man with the various theories regarding it are well discussed. Chapters are not lacking with regard to man's future improvement: What is life? Is it possible to create it? The work is well illustrated. Naturally several words have been used in Kannada for which a glossary is given giving their corresponding English terms. The Kannada world and the Karnāṭaka University of Mysore ought to be grateful to Professor Venkatanaranappa for having undertaken this task and brought out this publication.

Hindu Darśana Sāra by the late Mahamahōpādhyāya Lakṣmipuram Srinivasacharya would be an excellent text-book on the subject. It commences with Carvakā and ends with the Śaiva darśana. What is matter, what is prakṛti, what is puruṣa, what is that which we see and that which we cannot see, is there anything which we cannot see, how do we come to be what we are, where do we go, what is pleasure or pain, what is self-realisation, what is devotion, what can be attained by devotion and discipline, is there a God, and what is his responsibility or what is ours for the position in which we find ourselves at the present moment, what is good or evil, what is the relationship of one to the other, what is feeling, passion, envy, hate, love, affection, what is the relationship of all these, are we being

born here as a result of our past karma and is our life in the future, should there be one, to be decided by the karma during the present life or are all these and the world nothing but an illusion? These matters are too deep and too wide: beginning with the theism proceeding on to the smṛtis, divinity and their gods and goddesses. If you see nothing in God or between love or hate, pleasure or pain and if you are indifferent to suffering and not led away by success or cast down by misfortune, if you know that all roads lead to one haven, the haven of śānti, the goal of self-realisation, then the darśanas are but tonics prescribed as suits the mind as the end and aim and the essence of all the darśanas is śānti.

Rajanīti is the Science of Politics by H. Krishna Rao with a foreword by D. V. Gundappa. Democracy is no spent force, even totalitarian rule cannot continue for any long time, in fact the Duce and the Fuehrer claim to govern by the free vote of the people! The theory of divine right is not traceable in modern governance and even in conditions where the absolutism of the king obtains, it is conditioned by the willing subjection of the people and a theoretical right to rebel. The degree of support gained from them for the dharma protects the good conduct of the king. There is always a difference here as elsewhere in a practice suited to the theory and in Mysore the Representative Assembly, the Legislative Council and various other local bodies have made for a growing recognition of the rights of the people in the administration of the State. The Smṛtis, the Śāntiparva and the Arthaśāstra contain an exposition of Rājadharmā which illustrated by examples of the Emperor Aśoka; and as we know the Brāhmanas and the Hindu temples were the last bulwarks for the protection of Hindu dharma. The king can do no wrong is a theory developed by centuries of practical experience in a country where the veto of the Crown is as dead as a door-nail. In Hindu polity we find kings like Vena who for proclaiming avidya were being punished by the sages.

Hadibadeya Dharma is edited by Srimati Champa Bai and printed for the University by the Kannada Sahitya Parishat Press. It is interesting to notice that the frontispiece contains the picture of Śrī Chikkadevarāja Wadiyar, himself a Kannada author of note.

Honamma the authoress was in the house-hold of Chikkadevarāja Wadiyar and devoted like the sovereign to Kannada. Honamma was home bound, home loving, singing of the home, and a trustee of the home. She felt that life was the life of Niṣkāmya, the passage for reaching godhead. Some more authors like Honamma and Mahadeviakka would revolutionize Kannada literature itself. We hope there will be no home without this work.

S. S.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa—By Keśiraja with the commentary of Linga-naradhya, Madras University Kannada Series No. 5, Edited by A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T. and Pandita H. Sesha Iyengar. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

Abhidhanaratnamālā with Kannada Tike—Editors A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Iyengar, Madras University Kannada Series No. 6. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

Oṣahadi Koṣam—Editors A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Iyengar, Madras University Kannada Series No. 7. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

THE University of Madras deserves to be congratulated on the increasing interest which it has been taking in the publication of Kannada works, of which these three have appeared in quick succession. Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa with the Commentary of Linga-naradhya is a work of considerable importance. The General Editor Mr. Channakeśava Ayyangar has given a short and useful Introduction in English and his detailed Kannada Introduction is itself an independent work of considerable merit. The much damaged palm-leaf manuscript which is here edited and published is difficult in parts to decipher. Linga-naradhya was a Vedic scholar of the sixteenth century. He was learned both in Sanskrit and in Kannada and he gives a fascinating title to his gloss styling it as a jewel-garland of the interpretation of the sutras. Keśiraja the famous grammarian of the thirteenth century and author may be more lucid in his gloss but Linga-naradhya has his own merits. He has given us improved readings and in some places additional information either by expanding the original gloss and adding his own commentary or by improving upon the examples thus.

showing how great a student he himself was of Keśiraja's grammar. He has, besides, his own original and independent lines of research. The work before us furnishes new vrittis assisting us to a more correct comprehension of some of the texts while it confirms the old readings of the verses or helps us to rectify mistakes in many others. The text is edited with much care resulting in a more lucid exposition of the text itself in many an instance. An appendix referring to the meaning of difficult words in old Kannada and to the original text of verses and to the opening words in those verses and the meaning of many words and to many other matters with reference to the illustrative examples, properly indexed for easy and ready reference together with comparative tables are all of considerable help to the student of the Kannada language and literature. Keśiraja in his work draws upon the existing literature in Kannada for illustrations and the anthology called Sukti-sūdharnava compiled by his father, Mallikarjuna, with a large mass of examples of literary usages was also available to him. He has made elaborate rules based mostly on prakrit grammars to derive tadbhava words from their Sanskrit originals, being fully alive however to the special characteristics of the Kannada language; he has laid down a number of special rules to explain and elucidate such characteristics. In Kannada it is possible to have a sentence without a verb. A noun, a pronoun, an adjective or a numeral with pronominal or personal termination can acquire the force of a verb or a sentence; a few indeclinables also can have the verbal force. While Keśiraja says that there are eight places for the birth of letters in sutra 33, Linganaradhya analyses these letters in sutra 61. In his work Sutrānvaya-ratnamale he refers to the commentary of another Pandit apparently Keśiraja and criticises him. In his vrittis he elucidates them by way of question and answer and further has given useful explanations of several sutras of Keśiraja changing some of his texts, supplementing a few, omitting some. Besides in sutra 84 he has endeavoured to criticise both Panini and Keśiraja on the supposed reasonings of the words catur-catvār which has been commended by the editor. On page 38 of the Introduction Mr. Channakesava Ayyangar has commented on the derivation of *noga* from *ṇuga* itself

derived from *yuga*. He questions why Karnāṭaka or Karnāṭa should not have been itself derived from Kannada into Sanskrit. In the sister dravidian languages arisamasa is not a mix up and apparently that is recognised for Kannada also. Cf. page 54 of the Introduction. His treatment of *ṛala*, *kula* and *kṣala* and *srutisahyasandhi*, *satisaptami*, *sama samskr̥ta vicāra* is very lucid. *Virahitavyaya Samskr̥talinga*, *Padōttama sithilavicāra*, *Yativilanghana vicāra* are carefully dealt with. The extent to which the Sanskrit grammar has influenced the Kannada language and its terminology is given. Nearly a thousand roots of Keśiraja from his grammar help the student of the old Kannada literature and the work before us is of great assistance also from this point of view.

The Abhidhanaratnamala of Bhatta Halayudha, a Sanskrit Lexicon of importance, was commented upon in Kannada long ago probably by Nagavarma and must have been available to Dr. Kittel for his preparation of the Kannada Dictionary. However, it was only when a copy of it was discovered at the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavan Library, Arrah, that its full value was realised. The University of Madras have presented as reliable a text as possible under the circumstances. A large number of Halagannada equivalents of Sanskrit terms are found in the commentary. In this edition the original Sanskrit text and the Kannada commentary are given; the readings of the text vary in several places from those given by Dr. Aufrecht apparently because of the readings adapted by the Kannada commentators. The indices are copious and helpful.

The same authors have published *Oṣadhi Koṣam* based on a single manuscript obtained from the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavan, Arrah. We have here the meanings of not only technical but also of popular words not found in current dictionaries and students of Kannada are obliged to this work which has a collection of terms dealing with herbs and their meanings, the names of beasts, birds, the five elements, vehicles etc. There are 12,000 Sanskrit words arranged alphabetically, with their meanings in Kannada. Unfortunately, there is no information available about the author.

S. S.

Karnāṭaka Sahitya Samskriti Darsana—By S. S. Malawad, M.A.—
 Government of Bombay Kannada Research Grant Publication.
 Published by the author, Dharwar. Price: Ordinary copy
 Re. 1-8-0; Superior copy Rs. 2-0-0.

THIS work deals with topics which we have mentioned in our review of several works previously. The art of writing and the development of literature, and the contribution of Jaina authors to Kannada literature are mentioned in the earlier chapters; Mahadeviakka, Janna and Raghavanka, three stars of Kannada literature are studied. After discussing the growth of literature in the intervening periods, the author refers to Basava in Basavaiāja Deva Ragale and Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali. The last chapter is devoted to culture and it gives an account of the Kodiyamatha of the twelfth century, where a university existed, for the details of which we might refer QJMS Vol. VII pp. 157-196. Balligave was the capital of the Karnāṭaka country in its golden age and the development of the Karnāṭaka culture under the Vijayanagara Empire in which the Hoysaḷas found a home. Their polity and their culture began to flourish in Mysore where Hindu Dharma is always before the eye of its rulers.

S. S.

Vaisakha Sukla Poornima, Buddhana Kathegalu and Gundlu Pandita Śrī Rajaratnakṛta Mahakavi Puruṣa Sarasvatī—By G. P. Rajaratnam, M.A. The first two are published by the Sakya Sahitya Mantapa, Malleswaram, Bangalore and the last one is published by Messrs. Satyashodana Prakatana Mandir, Bangalore.

VAISAKHA Sukla Poornima is an offering by Kannada to Buddha. Several translations of independent articles in Kannada on Buddha are given. Srinivasa, V. Sitaramiah, C. K. Venkataramiah, K. V. Puttappa, T. Narasimhachar, Rajarātnam, Shivarāma Karant have contributed extracts from three inscriptions on a day thrice sacred to the memory of Buddha as his birthday, 30th March 581 B.C. and are included.

Buddha Kathagalu or the sixty-six stories of the Buddha, selected from the Jātakas with a frontispiece of a Dhyani Buddha is published under the auspices of Pali Kannada Translation Series and is dedicated to His late Highness Śrī Krishnarāja Wadiyar. It is excellently illustrated and the translation leaves nothing to be desired. The translation and the illustration practically go together.

Mahakavipuruṣa Sarasvati is a work full of parody, satire, burlesque, and caricature. It will make you laugh till laughter bursts your sides. To understand what there is you have to read it and once you begin you will not lay it by till you have finished it. With all there is a great lesson in it to would-be-authors.

S. S.

Nadoja Pampa—By M. Thimmappaiya—Published by the author, St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. Price Rs. 4-0-0.

SRI Manjaiah Heggade of Dharmasthala has given a beautiful portrait of Pampa. Pampa came from a distinguished family of the Deccan country. The author of several works, Pampa, deserves a place of considerable importance in the evolution of the Karnāṭaka literature and we congratulate the author on his successful endeavour in bringing out a valued work on a classical author. The index is very attractive and useful particularly with reference to his style.

S. S.

Bhakta Siriyala Setty—By G. Doddaveerappa, Messrs. Kanteerava & Sons, Bangalore City.

SIRIYALA SETTY is not a puranic personage but the commander-in-chief of a Pallava King and the contemporary of Tiruṭṭiāna Sambhandar of the sixth century at Kañci. The story is full of interesting anecdotes relating to Siriyala Setty occurring in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada works.

S.S.

Jeevajyothigalu—By B. S. Ramaswamy Aiyangar, M.A.—Published by The S. S. N. Book Depot, New Market, Bangalore City. Price Re. 1-4-0.

THE lives of J. N. Tata, Queen Victoria the Good, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Abraham Lincon, Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar, the Dewan of Mysore for eighteen years who made several administrative arrangements for the development of Mysore, Svami Vivekananda, Śri Krishnarāja Wadiyar Bahadur IV, the late Mahārāja of Mysore, known throughout the world for his kindness and piety, Mahatma Gandhi, and Henry Ford are briefly and vividly brought out in the book under review. It is written in simple and appealing Kannada.

R. H. R.

MYSORE CENSUS*

COMPARATIVE TABLES 1881-1941

Population, Main Communities & Literacy by Districts,
Taluks and Towns.

*Statement of Population and Literacy of the State
for the past Six Decades—By Sex.*

YEAR	SEX	POPULATION	LITERACY
1891	Persons	49,43,604	2,11,937
	Males	24,83,451	2,00,455
	Females	24,60,153	11,482
1901	Persons	55,39,399	2,62,092
	Males	27,97,024	2,44,886
	Females	27,42,375	17,206
1911	Persons	58,06,193	3,64,998
	Males	29,34,621	3,28,816
	Females	28,71,572	36,182
1921	Persons	59,78,892	4,43,175
	Males	30,47,117	3,86,150
	Females	29,31,775	57,023
1931	Persons	65,57,302	5,94,526
	Males	33,53,963	5,05,219
	Females	32,03,339	89,307
1941	Persons	73,29,140	9,58,379
	Males	37,63,318	7,69,786
	Females	35,65,822	1,88,593

* A detailed review will appear later.

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